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Luke the Chronicler

*The Narrative Arc of Samuel-Kings
and Chronicles in Luke-Acts*

By

Mark S. Jacobbe



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For my parents

*Also dedicated to the memory of
David Sacks*

*A dear friend sorely missed, whose creative mind and loving heart,
it is hoped, have left no small mark on these pages, even as they surely
have on my life*



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Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>On Agriculture</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>An. post.</i>	<i>Posterior Analytics</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Part 2, Principat.</i> Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Hause. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
ApOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchanals</i>
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNP	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World.</i> Edited by Hubert Cancik. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011
BrTCB	Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CTM	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>

<i>Decal.</i>	<i>On the Decalogue</i>
DH	Deuteronomistic History
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DJG</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> . Edited by Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013
<i>DLNT</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments</i> . Edited by Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997
<i>DOTHB</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books</i> . Edited by Bill T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005
ECC	Early Christianity in Context
EEN	Elijah-Elisha narrative
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae morales</i>
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios Bíblicos</i>
Eup.	Eupolemus
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FDV	Franz-Delitzsch-Vorlesungen
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FTS	Frankfurter theologische Studien
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>HTh</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>Hervormde teologiese studies</i>
IBE	inference to the best explanation
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Jewish War</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
JSJ.S	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

Jub.	Jubilees
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LAB	Liber antiquitatum biblicarum
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
Liv. Pro.	Lives of the Prophets
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
Mart. Isa.	The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah.
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTPG	Wright, N. T. <i>The New Testament and the People of God</i> . Christian Origins and the Question of God 1. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PBTM	Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentaries
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetics</i>
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RST	Regensburger Studien zur Theologie
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
Sam. Tg.	Samaritan Targum
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
SKNA	Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc
SKNA 1	1–2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles
SKNA 2	1–2 Kings and 2 Chronicles
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament

SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
Spec. Laws	On the Special Laws
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Mos.	Testament of Moses
T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
Tg. Isa.	Targum Isaiah
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TOTC	The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Introduction

But whatever the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman components of Luke's historiography may have been, his own conscious intention was to write history in biblical style, or, rather, to write the continuation of the biblical history.

NILS DAHL, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts"



This study is an investigation into the influence of the OT on the narrative structure of Luke-Acts. The core thesis is that Luke, in composing the two-part work of Luke and Acts, used as a major literary model the two-part narrative of Israel's history which is found in the OT books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, especially the account of David in the Book of Samuel and 1 Chronicles, and the account of the kings in the Book of Kings and 2 Chronicles.¹ In particular, I will argue that Luke patterns his Gospel on the life of David, with Jesus presented as the promised ultimate Davidide. Likewise, Luke broadly bases Acts on the story of the kings in Kings and 2 Chronicles, presenting the apostles and disciples as the heirs of the kingdom of David—albeit in a transformed manner, with a strong element of eschatological inversion. The evidence of this influence consists of verbal, thematic, structural, and other parallels, many of which have not been noticed or sufficiently appreciated before. This study builds on the work of others, while also presenting much fresh evidence, especially for Acts. Most importantly, I will attempt to tie all the pieces together into a coherent whole.

¹ I call this two-part narrative *The Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc*, or SKNA. See below for explanation of this term. While my argument in this study is based on Luke's use of the Greek Bible as his OT source, I have chosen to use the names Samuel-Kings and Chronicles throughout, as in the English Bible, rather than 1–4 Reigns or 1–4 Kingdoms (for Samuel and Kings) and *Paraleipomena* (for Chronicles). This is done largely for reasons of euphony. I will discuss the complex issues related to the LXX of these books, including the names Βασιλειῶν and Παραλειπομένων, in ch. 2. There I will also explain my decision to consider Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together, demonstrating that to do so represents accurately the way these books were read and interpreted in the Second Temple period.

Although this thesis argues heavily for OT influence on Luke's historiography, it is also consistent with scholarship that has focused on Hellenistic influence on Luke, particularly the ancient practice of literary *mimesis* (imitation). In what follows, I will argue that Luke's use of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is an example of *mimesis*, and thus Luke writes within the recognized literary conventions of his day.

1 Rationale for the Study

Investigating the OT roots of Luke's historiography is hardly a new endeavor. Several scholars in the last century have argued for profound OT influence on Luke-Acts that extends to the very structure of his narrative. However, some have focused on explicit scriptural citations at the expense of more indirect uses of Scripture, while others have either ignored crucial evidence or resorted to undue complexity. The current thesis reflects a more full-orbed understanding of Luke's use of the OT, highlights some important features of Luke-Acts that have heretofore been underappreciated, and comfortably accounts for Luke-Acts in its final form. As for the implications of this OT influence, this thesis provides a new answer to the question of why Luke wrote Acts, as well as advancing significantly the contention of many scholars that Luke is not only continuing Israel's story in Luke and Acts, but also is writing something akin to *biblical history*.

In addition to making an almost entirely new proposal concerning the composition of Luke-Acts, this study also advances biblical scholarship in several ways. Chief among these is largely new research in chapter 2 concerning the way that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were read and interpreted in the Second Temple period, with implications for the study of the NT. I will also, in chapter 3, propose a fivefold taxonomy of imitational *mimesis*, enabling greater precision in discussions of this important concept. Furthermore, in the present chapter I propose a new methodology for making arguments in biblical studies that combines elements of philosophy and argumentation theory. Finally, throughout the exegetical chapters (4–7) I will make several fresh proposals concerning some particularly knotty problems of Luke-Acts, including the genre of Luke-Acts, the structure and placement of Luke's genealogy, and the ending of Acts.

2 History of Research

Insofar as this study investigates Luke's use of the OT as a literary pattern or template, it is for that reason an investigation into Luke's use of the OT.

The study of Luke's use of the OT, however, is an extremely diverse and complex field of study with many different subfields. In order to situate this study as accurately and helpfully as possible, what follows is an overview of some of the research into Luke's use of the OT, broken up into four distinct subfields which are examined in turn.² For each one, I present the core research question or questions under consideration, and conclude, where possible, with a judgment on the outcome of the line of research. In the nature of the case, some studies or scholars could fit comfortably into more than one category, and some lines of research are inconclusive or ongoing.

2.1 *OT Citations and Allusions in Luke-Acts*

The first category of Luke's use of the OT to be examined concerns the data surrounding his OT citations and allusions.³ Specifically, this line of research has sought to answer the following main questions: What are the number, nature, and extent of OT citations and allusions in Luke and Acts? Where in Luke-Acts do they occur? Which books of the OT are cited? What are the sources of Luke's explicit OT citations, including the immediate source (i.e., Luke himself or an earlier tradition), and the original source (i.e., the LXX or something else)? Of these, two have a direct bearing on this study: the question of the original source, and which OT books are cited.

Concerning the original source of Luke's OT citations, the current consensus, despite some alternative theories that have been proposed, and taking proper account of occasional departures, is that the strong similarity between

² This arrangement is *ad hoc* and geared toward the current project.

³ The most important studies are W. K. L. Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," in *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 2 of *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 66–105; Traugott Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas*, TUGAL 104 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968); Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas*, SNT 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969); C. K. Barrett, "Luke/Acts," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 231–44; Charles A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel*, JSNTSup 94 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994); Gert J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum*, CBET 12 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," in *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 295–313; Emerson B. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture: The Function of Jesus' Use of Scripture in the Synoptic Gospels*, BINS 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Dietrich Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, BZNW 112 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); David W. Pao and Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Luke," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 251–414; and I. Howard Marshall, "Acts," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 513–606.

the bulk of Luke's OT quotations in Luke-Acts and the LXX indicates that the Greek, rather than the Hebrew OT was his main source.⁴ Thus, in what follows the LXX is assumed to be Luke's primary source for shaping the narrative in Luke-Acts. Nevertheless, it has also been pointed out that whatever Luke's source, the "conceptual framework" for his citations can rest equally well on Aramaic or Hebrew sources as on Greek ones.⁵

The other issue for this study concerns which OT books are cited, in particular the fact that Luke in no place explicitly cites Samuel-Kings or Chronicles.⁶ This is surprising in light of Luke's seemingly obvious reliance on the language and content of these and the other historical books. Nevertheless, to use this fact to conclude that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were not important to Luke would be facile, and would betray an impoverished understanding of how Scripture was used in Second Temple Jewish literature. In the first place, as we shall see in the course of this study, there are ample allusions and echoes to these books all throughout Luke and Acts, as well as imitation of their content and style. These features should establish beyond any serious doubt that Luke is aware of them, at least in a general way.⁷ But furthermore, the type of influence argued for in this study goes far beyond the mere citation of an occasional verse, or the odd allusion here and there. Rather, it concerns nothing less than the absorption of the basic narrative structure of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles into the narrative structure of Luke-Acts, a narrative strategy which, as I will demonstrate in chapter 2, is as comfortably at home in Second Temple Jewish literature as is the explicit citation of Scripture. While this type of influence is reflected in allusions and echoes, it also involves the demonstrable use of themes, patterns, and parallels found in OT models, elements that

4 This conclusion, reached by W. K. L. Clarke for Acts in "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," has been followed by many others since his day for both Luke and Acts. Clarke built on the work of H. B. Swete. As for Luke's occasional departures from the LXX, discussion has centered on the alternate possibilities of inadvertency and intentional theological modification. Other theories for Luke's source, such the use of *testimonia*, the targumim, influence from Christian liturgical tradition, and translations of Semitic sources have not been widely accepted. Concerning the term "LXX," at this point in the study I use it to refer in a general way to the Greek OT available to Luke in the first century. We will examine the thorny issues related to the nature and state of the Greek OT in the first century, especially with respect to Samuel and Kings, in ch. 2.

5 Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology*, JSNTSup 12 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 271; Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament*, 198.

6 His citations are mainly drawn from the Pentateuch, Psalms, and the Prophets. There are none from the other historical books Joshua, Judges, Ezra, or Nehemiah. Fitzmyer, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," 303.

7 See ch. 4.

are as hermeneutically significant as they are opaque to a method that simply counts citation formulas.⁸ In fact, such profound integration of a model suggests, if anything, an even greater significance of a source for an author than mere citation may do. Thus, the lack of explicit citations to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts should be no barrier to the type of profound influence I am arguing for in this study. Luke's sophisticated use of Scripture demands that we pay close attention not only to his explicit scriptural citations, but to his more subtle—and potentially more significant—uses of Scripture as well.

2.2 *Luke's Septuagintal Style*

This line of inquiry focuses on the apparent similarities in style between portions of Luke-Acts and portions of the LXX and seeks to discover what theory best accounts for them.

While Charles Cutler Torrey was hardly the first to consider the question, the issue of "Semitisms" in Luke and Acts is particularly associated with his work. Torrey argued forcefully that the best explanation for Semitic features in the Greek of Luke and Acts 1–15 is that they are translations of Aramaic.⁹ Several scholars reacted strongly to Torrey's translation Greek hypothesis, with H. F. D. Sparks signaling the shift toward the view that eventually won the day: Torrey's Semitisms are much more easily accounted for as "Septuagintalisms"—that is, Luke's conscious imitation of the style of the LXX.¹⁰

In the decades following, however, some argued that things are not so simple, with various scholars pointing out that not all of Luke's Semitisms can be chalked up to the LXX. Instead, some may show influence from non-Greek OT textual traditions,¹¹ or alternately, perhaps Luke's apparently LXX-influenced

8 The type of use of Scripture proposed is what Devorah Dimant calls a "compositional," rather than an "expositional" use of Scripture, a use commonly found in the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in which authors "weave [OT elements] unobtrusively into their own fabric." Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. Martin Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 383. See ch. 2.

9 Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1912); Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, HTS 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916); Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels: Some of the Evidence* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936). See also W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1989), 165–67; and Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 14–15. For a more complete history of this research prior to Torrey, see Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 1–19.

10 H. F. D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel," *JTS* 44 (1943): 129–38; Sparks, "The Semitisms of the Acts," *JTS* n.s. 1 (1950): 16–28.

11 E.g., Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*; Wilcox, "Semitisms in the New Testament," *ANRW* 25.2.

style is instead an example of “synagogue Greek,” a mix of vernacular and religious language that was in use in Hellenistic Judaism generally (including the LXX).¹²

These alternate explanations perhaps miss the forest for the trees. Joseph Fitzmyer, in his Luke commentary, laid out the evidence afresh, making a clear and compelling case for understanding the LXX as the source for the vast majority of Luke’s Semitisms (notwithstanding possible Aramaic or non-LXX Hebrew influence in some places).¹³ While influence from the LXX certainly does not account for all his Semitisms, Fitzmyer’s main conclusion still stands: “Whatever one wants to say about the alleged Semitisms in Luke’s Greek, one has in the long run to reckon with a great deal of influence from the LXX.”¹⁴

As for where the Semitisms occur in Luke and Acts, many have noted that they are not distributed evenly, but rather occur toward the beginnings of both books. With respect to which portions of the LXX seem to have influenced Luke the most, Gregory Sterling notes that, in addition to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, Tobit, Daniel, and 1 Maccabees, “a strong case can also be made for 1–IV Kingdoms.”¹⁵

12 Fred L. Horton, Jr., “Reflections on the Semitisms of Luke-Acts,” in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert, Perspectives in Religious Studies: Special Studies Series 5 (Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), 18–20. A more sophisticated effort at establishing the same point can be found in Loveday Alexander, “Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio: Albert Wifstrand and the Language of Luke-Acts,” in *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter, AGJU 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 14–20. The most recent study on the topic is Albert Hogeterp and Adelbert Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek: A Descriptive Analysis of Lexical and Syntactical Domains of Semitic Language Influence in Luke’s Gospel*, WUNT 401 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

13 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (1–IX)*, AB 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 113–25. Also important is Albert Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” in *Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Era*, eds. Lars Rydbeck and Stanley Porter, WUNT 179 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 28–45.

14 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 125. Likewise, Hogeterp and Denaux note that “biblical Hebraisms from LXX Greek constitute a predominant factor behind the Semitisms in Luke’s narrative framework.” This comment notwithstanding that the main thrust of their study is to demonstrate that multiple factors ultimately account for Luke’s Semitisms. *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek*, 502.

15 That is, Samuel-Kings. Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, NovTSup 64 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 354n214.

As for why Luke imitated the LXX, several possibilities present themselves. To begin with, he likely wanted to give a biblical “air” to his writings.¹⁶ But surely more can be said. Why would he do this? Several scholars, especially Eckhard Plümacher, have drawn a comparison between Luke’s imitation of the LXX and the common Greco-Roman practice of mimesis. It seems likely that Luke is writing within this tradition, adding gravitas to his work by echoing the timbre of an earlier authority.¹⁷ We will investigate this further in chapter 3.

Beyond this, it is likely that Luke’s OT imitation is an interpretive act, part of his overall aim to portray the events of Luke-Acts as standing in continuity with the OT. This sense of continuity could be thought of in several ways: as a “midrash” of the OT,¹⁸ as part of a promise-fulfillment motif,¹⁹ as an attempt to legitimate the followers of Jesus as the true people of God,²⁰ or to present Luke-Acts as the continuation of Israel’s story—that is, as *biblical history*.²¹

16 See, e.g., Brian S. Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” in *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke, vol. 1 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 73; Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 34, 41; and François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950–2005)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 118.

17 Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972). See also Hogeterp and Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek*, 513. Other scholars who have investigated Luke’s possible use of mimesis include Dennis MacDonald, Thomas Brodie, and Marianne Palmer Bonz. See also Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 67; and Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 122–23, 215, 223–24, 230. Cadbury is open to the possibility that Luke’s OT imitation is unconscious.

18 John Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke’s Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1976), 4–6, 8, 44, 49–66. See also Evans and Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 3; and Kenneth D. Litwak, “The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: Luke’s Scriptural Story of the ‘Things Accomplished Among Us,’” in *Issues in Luke-Acts: Selected Essays*, eds. Sean A. Adams and Michael Pahl, Gorgias Handbooks 26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2012), 163–65.

19 Sparks, “The Semitisms of the Acts,” 27; Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012–2015), 1:483–85; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 359–62. For more on promise-fulfillment in Luke-Acts, see ch. 6.

20 Kenneth Duncan Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God’s People Intertextually*, JSNTSup 282 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 201–5.

21 Scholars who have noted Luke’s desire to continue the biblical story include: Nils A. Dahl, “The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts,” in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, eds. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 152–53; Dahl, *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church: Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976), 88; Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 347–49; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 363; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 81–82; Rebecca I. Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us: Prophetic Tradition in the*

These are not mutually exclusive options and we will revisit them throughout the study. Finally, as for framing this influence in modern sociolinguistic terms, Luke's Semiticizing style could be considered a matter of register, or perhaps social dialect.²²

2.3 *Luke's Cultural Influence: Deuteronomistic or Hellenistic?*

While the previous areas of research have focused on scriptural citations and style, this one considers Luke's overall approach to his literary task. Specifically, the key research question concerns the nature and degree of influence of Greco-Roman literary and historiographical practices on the one hand, and Jewish ones on the other hand—especially the historiography of the OT. In short, is Luke's work primarily Hellenistic or Jewish—especially Deuteronomistic?

Stated so starkly, the obvious answer is, both.²³ Doubtless Luke, as a Greco-Roman author writing within a Second Temple Jewish context, was influenced by both traditions. The issue, then, becomes a matter of emphasis. On the one hand, a great many scholars have considered Luke primarily as a Greco-Roman author. This naturally involves the question of the genre of Luke and Acts, as well as the significance of specific literary features, such as the prologues, speeches, and literary parallels.²⁴ We will look at some of these features in chapters 3 and 6.

On the other hand, several scholars have instead highlighted Luke's affinities with Jewish historiography, especially various parts of the OT. Almost one hundred years ago, Henry Cadbury, although taking pains to highlight Hellenistic influence on Luke's writing, at the same time noted significant influence from

Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts, JSOTSup 141 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 26; Fitzmyer, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," 309; Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 42; Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 252, 253; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:485–87.

22 See Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 23–26.

23 See the history of research on both Greco-Roman and OT historiographical influence in Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2/366 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 12–21.

24 Three studies in particular that have emphasized the Hellenistic aspects of Luke's writing are: Colin J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, ed. Conrad H. Gempf (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990); Clare K. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History: An Investigation of Early Christian Historiography*, WUNT 2/175 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); and David P. Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy, Theologian of Israel's 'Christ': A New Reading of the 'Gospel Acts' of Luke*, BZNW 182 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016). Moessner also acknowledges the significant OT influence on Luke-Acts; see below. In addition, Craig Keener could also be numbered among the "Greco-Roman" group, given the heavy emphasis, throughout his Acts commentary, on Acts as a work of Greco-Roman historiography. On OT influence in Acts, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:161–64, 477–91.

the OT, particularly his “inculcation of a religious philosophy of history.”²⁵ More recently, Samson Uytanlet has argued that Luke’s theology of divine action in history, his use of character parallels, and his emphasis on “land” as related to the sovereignty of God indicate that his historiography—not merely his theology—should be understood primarily within the Jewish milieu.²⁶

To a great extent, in discussions of OT influence on Luke’s historiography, “OT” has meant *Deuteronomistic*. In an important essay, Daryl Schmidt reviewed the history of scholarship concerning the influence of the Deuteronomistic History (DH) on Luke’s historiography, while presenting a hypothesis and a program of study to investigate it.²⁷ Schmidt focused on the use of parallels and a promise-fulfillment motif, suggesting (following John Van Seters) that both of these elements are derived from a Deuteronomistic view of history.²⁸ In a similar vein, Thomas Römer and Jean-Daniel Macchi pointed out seven distinct features of Luke’s historiography, including a cluster of OT themes that confirm Luke as a “disciple of the Deuteronomistic school.”²⁹ Gregory Sterling and John Drury have also connected Luke’s work to the DH. Sterling argued that Luke’s theological understanding of history is derived in part from the DH, including Luke’s promise-fulfillment scheme.³⁰ Drury argued along similar lines, likewise emphasizing promise-fulfillment while pointing to several specific Deuteronomistic motifs employed in Luke’s “renaissance of Old Testament historiography.”³¹ According to these scholars, Luke’s theological understanding of history, as well as specific features of his writing, are derived in large part from the LXX, especially the DH.

Two scholars who could be viewed as holding Luke’s Greco-Roman and Jewish influences in balance are Eckhard Plümacher and David Moessner. Plümacher argued that Luke’s imitation of the LXX in Acts is an example of mimesis, a

25 Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 299–300.

26 Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*.

27 Daryl Schmidt, “The Historiography of Acts: Deuteronomistic or Hellenistic?,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers*, ed. Kent Harold Richards, SBLSP 24 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1985), 417–27.

28 That is, a view of history that emphasizes God’s sovereign control over human events which results in recurring parallels, prophetic promise, and later fulfillment. See John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

29 Thomas Römer and Jean-Daniel Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” in *Luke’s Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, JSNTSup 116 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 178–87.

30 Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 354–60.

31 Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke’s Gospel*, 5. See also 3–5, 51–53.

common and important mode of literary expression in the Hellenistic period.³² He investigated the missionary speeches and dramatic episodes in Acts, drawing particular comparison to the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, both of whom had imitated earlier historians. Plümacher thus connects Luke's project to a larger movement of Atticizing, or (at the least) "classicizing," that was underway in Luke's time. In Luke's case, however, the earlier exemplar being imitated is not a work of Greek history, but rather the far more "classic" text of the Greek Bible. In other words, Luke's historiography has a Hellenistic function in an OT form.³³

David Moessner argued for nearly the reverse, presenting Luke-Acts as firmly Greco-Roman in form and overall narrative strategy, while borrowing heavily from the OT in both the use of parallels and in a general sense of the *plan of God*. In other words, Luke is a Greco-Roman *historian*, while a thoroughly Jewish *theologian*.³⁴ Although Moessner takes great pains to establish Luke's extensive Greco-Roman literary credentials, on the whole I believe he can be understood more profitably as one who, like Plümacher, holds both sides in tension.

The breadth and variety of these studies should caution us against an easy dogmatism concerning Luke's primary cultural influence. Luke-Acts is a Greco-Roman work; Luke-Acts is a second Temple Jewish work. If, however, the thesis in this study is correct, and Luke patterned the whole of Luke-Acts in a significant way on the narrative arc in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, then this surely tips the balance more toward the side of Jewish historiography.³⁵ The term *Deuteronomistic*, however, must be cautioned against, since, as I argue all throughout, Luke is influenced by Chronicles alongside of Samuel-Kings.

In any case, the main implication to be drawn from this line of research is the need to take into account both cultural perspectives of Luke's literary project. In chapters 2 and 6 I will consider the influence of the OT and the DH on Luke's historiography in more detail. As for the Hellenistic side, I will examine the practice of mimesis and its relevance for Luke-Acts more fully in chapter 3.

32 Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*.

33 Although much work has been done on both the Greco-Roman literary environment as well as Luke's place in it since Plümacher's day, his essential conclusions still stand, albeit with certain modifications. See Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio." We will examine this further in ch. 3.

34 Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 8, 324, 339.

35 See ch. 2 for a comparison of Luke-Acts with other Second Temple Jewish literature.

2.4 OT Templates in Luke-Acts

The aspect of Luke's use of the OT that has the most direct bearing on this study is the use of the OT as a literary template. Several studies have looked at Luke's use of a portion of the OT as a pattern or template for all or part of Luke and Acts.

2.4.1 Deuteronomy

One branch of scholarship has been concerned with the "travel section" in Luke (9:51–19:44), and has argued for Luke's dependence on the exodus narrative, especially portions of Deuteronomy. Christopher F. Evans presented evidence for verbal and structural parallels between Luke and Deuteronomy which point toward Luke's use of Deuteronomy as a literary template.³⁶ Along similar lines, David Moessner argued that the travel section is based on Moses-Exodus-Deuteronomy typology, with Jesus presented as the Moses-like traveling prophet *par excellence* whose rejection by his people brings covenant life.³⁷ Although Moessner's work has reasonable explanatory power for a portion of Luke's Gospel, the conclusion regarding the prominence of prophetic-Mosaic Christology must be heavily qualified by balancing it with Davidic Christology.

2.4.2 The Elijah-Elisha Narrative

In terms of overall approach, the work that comes closest to the present study, notwithstanding profound differences, is that of Thomas L. Brodie on the Elijah-Elisha narrative (EEN) in Luke-Acts. In a body of work spanning nearly four decades, Brodie has written passionately and persistently in favor of viewing the EEN as the primary template used in the composition in Luke and Acts.³⁸ Beginning with a recognition of the widespread use of mimesis among Greco-Roman authors, along with Luke's obvious reliance on the LXX,

36 Christopher F. Evans, "The Central Section of Luke's Gospel," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955). See also Jindřich Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Book of Luke," *NovT* 2, no. 1 (1957): 8–23.

37 David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989). See also Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 205–37. For more on *typology*, see below.

38 The most important works are Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter: Luke-Acts as a Systematic Rewriting and Updating of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative in 1 and 2 Kings* (Rome: Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas, 1988); and Brodie, "Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," in *New Views on Luke and Acts*, ed. Earl Richard (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 78–85. The findings of a 2008 conference devoted to the subject, including an essay by Brodie, are collected

Brodie notes significant verbal and thematic links between 1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 13 on the one hand, and portions of Luke 1–Acts 15 on the other.³⁹ He argues that these links are not occasional or haphazard, however, but extend even to the sequence of events in both works so as to suggest that Luke has likely used the EEN as a literary template. He has further argued that the very structure of the EEN—two parts, with an ascension narrative in between—has provided the basic paradigm for Luke and Acts generally.⁴⁰ Brodie acknowledges, however, that his theory cannot account for the entirety of Luke and Acts; for this reason, he has been a rare proponent for the existence of “Proto-Luke,” a nonextant work comprising portions of approximately twenty-five chapters of Luke and Acts. In recent years, Brodie has expanded his views on the EEN and Proto-Luke into a grand theory which, he avers, not only solves the Synoptic Problem, but essentially explains the formation of much of the NT as well.⁴¹

There is no question that Brodie has demonstrated Luke’s knowledge of and reliance on the EEN generally, while some of his specific parallels are indeed striking. Moreover, his understanding of the importance of literary mimesis in the Greco-Roman milieu is correct, while his painstaking attention to textual details is itself worthy of imitation. There are substantial weaknesses, however. As Brodie has long noted, the parallels are confined to limited portions of Luke and Acts. This fact has forced him to posit the existence of Proto-Luke, a work that has proven even more elusive than Q. Furthermore, Brodie’s theory, if correct, would put him at variance with known practices of ancient mimesis, especially the practice of following one source at a time. In addition, some of his proposed *textual* parallels are better explained simply as *character* parallels.⁴² In short, it appears that Brodie has made more of legitimate parallels than is warranted.

But more profoundly, as I see it, the fundamental problem with Brodie’s approach (as well as some others) is the insistence of one single dominant

in John S. Kloppenborg and Jozef Verheyden, eds, *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

39 Brodie has modified his theory over the years, particularly the range of relevant texts in the EEN and Luke-Acts. The range presented here reflects his most recent work. Brodie, “Luke’s Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative,” in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Joseph Verheyden, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 6–29.

40 In the case of the EEN, the ascension is that of Elijah.

41 See *The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual Development of the New Testament Writings* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004).

42 On these points, see the contributions by Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr. and F. Gerald Downing in Kloppenborg and Verheyden, eds, *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*.

literary pattern at the expense of others.⁴³ This does not appear to be how Luke works. Rather, his method is more *symphonic*, weaving together multiple sources and patterns into a coherent whole.⁴⁴ This means that it is not so much that Brodie is entirely mistaken as to the influence of the EEN, as it is that his conclusions are incomplete. We must not insist on one dominant source or pattern in Luke-Acts. This dictum applies to the present study as well: the SKNA should not be understood as the only literary template used in Luke-Acts. Additionally, while Brodie does not completely disavow the historical value of Luke and Acts, nevertheless his theory drives a wedge between literary and historical concerns, and severely downplays the latter in Luke's thought.⁴⁵

Thus, while this study agrees with Brodie's starting point—Luke's profound reliance on the OT and his imitation of the LXX—it proposes an alternative literary template, either instead of or in concert with the EEN. Additionally, the current proposal has an advantage over Brodie's in that it is a simpler explanation of some of the data. No theory of a Proto-Luke is required to posit Luke's reliance on Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Moreover, we can find a much closer literary match for certain portions of Luke-Acts in the SKNA (e.g., Luke's infancy narrative in parallel with the beginning of 1 Samuel), rather than trying to shoehorn everything into the EEN. Finally, the present thesis accounts for *all* of Luke and Acts, not just portions, albeit in a more diffuse manner than Brodie has argued for the EEN. As for Luke-Acts and history, I reject skepticism regarding historical accuracy, and aver that any literary shaping under the influence of the LXX has not occurred at the expense of a reliable account of the "things accomplished among us" (Luke 1:1).⁴⁶

2.4.3 Isaiah

Rebecca Denova, among others, has argued that Isaiah is the OT book that has profoundly influenced the narrative structure of Luke-Acts.⁴⁷ Denova discerns a fivefold Isaianic "prophetic plot structure" which Luke uses, along with the EEN, to present his two-part work as the fulfillment of OT Scriptures

43 Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 410n24. See also 202, 224, 243, 275, 410n23.

44 Ibid., 275. See also Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 115–16.

45 See, e.g., Brodie, "Luke's Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," 28–29.

46 On literary mimesis and historicity, see below.

47 Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*. Others arguing for extensive use of Isaiah, though not necessarily on the level of narrative structure as Denova does, include David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, WUNT 2/130 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Peter Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 367 (London: T&T Clark, 2008); and Holly Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the 'Servant': Luke's Model from Isaiah for the Disciples in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 535 (London: T&T Clark, 2015).

and patterns. The present thesis is in line with much of Denova's approach and general methodology. Like Denova, I consider Luke-Acts to be a unified work, and I adopt a similar narrative-critical methodology, understood broadly as attending to a work's overall plot structure. Furthermore, I agree with the emphasis on Luke's use of typology and OT structures for determining Lukan purpose, as well as the claim that "the grand design for the structural pattern of Luke-Acts was to continue the story of Israel into the life of Jesus into his followers."⁴⁸ We differ, however, on the issue of which OT text(s) Luke drew on to establish his plot structure. Denova argues predominantly for Isaiah; I will argue for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (albeit not at the exclusion of Isaiah). Nevertheless, Denova's work is a good example of the overall approach I wish to take in the current project.

2.4.4 Samuel-Kings and Chronicles

This study is not the first to argue for the use of portions of Samuel-Kings or Chronicles (besides the EEN) as a literary template in Luke-Acts. Besides the echo of 1 Samuel in Luke's infancy narrative, which is widely noted and which will be discussed in chapter 4, N. T. Wright, in his *New Testament and the People of God*, suggested that Luke's presentation of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke is loosely but significantly patterned on the story of David in the Book of Samuel.⁴⁹ Yuzuru Miura later followed up on Wright's proposal, laying great stress on the similar order of events in both narratives while adding further parallels.⁵⁰ Miura concludes that "we *basically* support Wright's typological perspective that Luke narrates Jesus' story in the light of David's story in Samuel."⁵¹ The significance of this conclusion for the present study can hardly be overemphasized. Miura and Wright have picked up on a significant aspect of Luke's narrative strategy. What they have not done, but I will attempt to do, is to continue the OT parallels into Acts. It is not just that the Gospel of Luke is, in some sense, a retelling of Samuel (and 1 Chronicles); it is that Acts, in a similar sense, is a retelling of Kings and Second Chronicles. We will investigate the Wright/Miura proposal further in chapter 4.

Two other scholars, Thomas Brodie (again), and Barbara Thiering, have also proposed plot-level parallels with Samuel-Kings or Chronicles. Brodie, in addition to his work on the EEN, has argued that all of Luke 1:1–4:22a is a systematic

⁴⁸ Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 26. On typology, see below.

⁴⁹ N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 378–81. (Hereafter, *NTPG*.)

⁵⁰ Yuzuru Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2/232 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). On the order of events, see pp. 5–6, 237–38.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 238; emphasis original.

rewriting of 1 Chr 1–2 Chr 9.⁵² Finally, Barbara Thiering, in a brief essay, sketched an argument for viewing all of Luke-Acts as a retelling of Samuel-Kings, with Luke corresponding to Samuel, and Acts corresponding to Kings.⁵³ Of all the proposals surveyed, Thiering's thesis comes the closest to the one in the present study.

Most of these scholars (with the exception of Thiering) have confined the parallels to the Gospel of Luke. As I will argue, however, there is ample evidence that Luke likewise patterns Acts on the narratives in Kings and 2 Chronicles. Moreover, none of these scholars working with Samuel-Kings has attempted to connect in any systematic or coherent way the narrative in Samuel-Kings with the parallel narrative found in Chronicles. I believe this neglect of Chronicles has led either to the abandonment of the paradigm at the end of Luke (Wright, Miura), or else the use of fleeting and unconvincing parallels in places (Thiering). I further surmise that this failure to consider the possible influence of Chronicles alongside of Samuel-Kings is a result of the tendency in modern scholarship to view these works in isolation from one another. But as I will demonstrate in chapter 2, in the Second Temple period, Samuel-Kings and Chronicles tended to be read alongside of one another, with the details of the two narratives being interwoven in various ways. Once we recover a way of reading these books that is appropriate to Luke's literary and cultural milieu, the full extent of the influence of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles *together* on the narrative structure of Luke-Acts becomes clearer.⁵⁴

52 Thomas L. Brodie, "A New Temple and a New Law: The Unity and Chronicler-based Nature of Luke 1:1–4:22a," *JSNT* 5 (1979): 21–45. Brodie's proposal fails to convince.

53 Barbara Thiering, "Opening and Closing Narratives in the Gospels and Acts," *AbrN* 4 (1963–1964): 52–55. Thus Thiering, as far as I have been able to determine, is the only other scholar to suggest what is proposed in this study.

54 Space does not permit discussion of two other examples of Luke's potential use of other works as literary templates: Dennis MacDonald's argument for Luke's use of Homer for portions of Acts, and William S. Kurz's argument for Luke's use of Sirach 48:1–16. Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Gospels and Homer: Imitations of Greek Epic in Mark and Luke-Acts* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); William S. Kurz, S.J., "Intertextual Use of Sirach 48:1–16 in Plotting Luke-Acts," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, *JSNTSup* 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 308–22. For an evaluation of MacDonald's work, see Karl Olav Sandnes, "Imitatio Homeri? An Appraisal of Dennis R. MacDonald's 'Mimesis Criticism,'" *JBL* 124, no. 4 (2005): 715–32; Thomas E. Phillips, "The Genre of Acts: Moving Toward a Consensus?," *CurBR* 4, no. 3 (2006): 371–74; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:83–84. We will return to MacDonald's work as a fruitful point of contrast at several points throughout this work.

2.5 Conclusion to Previous Studies

This *Forschungsgeschichte* has, I hope, served to place the current study within the wider field of discussion and set the course for what is to follow. In the first place, it reveals that, with the exception of one scholar, to date no one has argued for Luke's dependence on the narrative progression found in Samuel-Kings (or Chronicles) throughout all of Luke-Acts. As regards the use of the OT as a literary template, it has also shown that at least some of the existing proposals along these lines have weaknesses, and perhaps have overlooked a more basic and compelling paradigm to explain the structure of Luke's two-part work. Additionally, it has suggested some methodological parameters, including the need to attend to factors beyond explicit scriptural citations in determining Luke's structure and purpose. Finally, it has warned of some potential pitfalls, especially (given the great variety of similar proposals) the danger of reading into Luke, or mistaking Luke's own design for that which is simply providential.

3 The Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc

An important term used throughout this study is *the Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc* (SKNA). By this term I mean the overall plotline of Samuel-Kings that is also, in substantial respects, the plotline of 1 and 2 Chronicles.⁵⁵ There are a few features of this plotline to emphasize. First, the *structure*: it is a two-part story. Part 1 consists of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles; part 2 consists of 1 and 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles. Second, the essential *contents*: Part 1 is largely about David, including his rise to the throne and his reign, notwithstanding other important material concerning Samuel and Saul. Part 2, although containing additional material (especially concerning the ministries of Elijah and Elisha), is mainly about the succession of kings after David, including the division of the kingdom, the fall of the monarchy, and the eventual exile. Third, the *shape*: part 1, on the whole, is about a *rise* to a high point in Israel's national life in the kingship of David (and Solomon), while part 2, despite some short-term triumphs, is about a *fall* toward Israel's and Judah's ultimate low point in exile.⁵⁶

55 On *plotline*, see the section on narrative criticism below. By referring to "plotline," "story," and "narrative arc" I do not mean to suggest that Luke-Acts is a work of fiction.

56 On this point, two writers in particular who have influenced my thinking, and thus in an important sense have provided the seed of this study, are Graeme Goldsworthy and Edmund Clowney. See, e.g., Graeme Goldsworthy, *Christ-Centered Biblical Theology: Hermeneutical Foundations and Principles* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2012), 25–26;

It is especially out of consideration of this rising and falling shape that I refer to a narrative *arc*.⁵⁷

I acknowledge that considering Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together in this way might seem odd and anachronistic, similar to the way that a modern chronological Bible might interweave the two sources. However, as I will demonstrate in chapter 2, it is precisely the opposite approach—treating Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as hermetically sealed entities—that is anachronistic. In chapter 2 I will present abundant evidence that a common way of reading these books in the Second Temple period—perhaps even the “default” way—was to do so *synoptically*—that is, to read the two accounts in light of each other.⁵⁸ I will also present numerous examples of Second Temple texts that reflect just such a narrative arc as I have described—that is, viewing David (and sometimes Solomon) as the high point of Israel’s history, with a descent thereafter down to the exile. This view of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles has an implication for the exegetical method used throughout this study: all throughout I will consider evidence from both works when looking at Luke and Acts, sometimes emphasizing one, sometimes the other.

Thus, the main contention that this thesis sets out to prove is that Luke, in composing Luke and Acts, has drawn inspiration and literary influence from the overall plot structure of both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. This is not to say there is a point-for-point correspondence between the two accounts at every turn, but rather, at key points throughout the narrative, Luke has been influenced by these OT works in detectable and significant ways.

Finally, a few clarifications are necessary regarding terminology. First, although Samuel-Kings and Chronicles contain the same basic two-part story, I refer to it as the *Samuel-Kings* narrative arc out of recognition of the fact that Samuel-Kings is both the earlier work, as well as the main literary source for Chronicles. Second, throughout this study I will use the term *SKNA* in several distinct senses. In some places, by *SKNA* I mean the entire underlying literary works themselves—that is, *SKNA* means “the entirety of the books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, considered together.” At other times I use *SKNA* to mean the overall plotline contained in these works as just described—that is, *SKNA* means “the storyline or plotline of the books Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, taken together.” At still other times I use the term in a more

and Edmund P. Clowney, *The Unfolding Mystery: Discovering Christ in the Old Testament* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1988), 165–68.

57 A visual representation of the *SKNA* is included in ch. 8.

58 As a general rule, Samuel-Kings tended to be viewed as the main source, with Chronicles influencing some details or filling in some gaps. For more on reading “synoptically,” see ch. 2.

restricted sense to mean “material taken from a *portion* of Samuel-Kings and/or Chronicles.”⁵⁹ It should be clear in context which of the senses is intended. Third, and finally, to avoid repeated use of the unwieldy constructions “Samuel and 1 Chronicles” and “Kings and 2 Chronicles,” I adopt the shorthand SKNA 1 and SKNA 2 to refer to these entities, respectively.

4 Methodology: Narrative Criticism

The predominant methodology I will use for this study is narrative criticism.⁶⁰ Throughout this study five narrative-critical concepts will be emphasized: plot; characterization; setting; literary patterns and parallels; and intertextual allusions and echoes.

4.1 *Plot, Characterization, Setting, and Parallels*

What Rebecca Denova writes concerning plot in Luke-Acts is true of plot in general: it “directs the audience’s attention to Luke’s message, as the structure is an inherent part of the message.”⁶¹ The overall aim of this study is to argue that the plotline of Luke-Acts is based in significant respects on the similar plotline found in the SKNA, and, furthermore, that this plotline is a strong indicator of Luke’s narrative and theological purposes. In the final chapter I include

59 For example, in the review of Second Temple Jewish literature in ch. 2, I will refer to “SKNA material” found in the literature. This could mean any material—e.g., something about David, Solomon, or the temple—that has its origin in a portion of Samuel-Kings or Chronicles.

60 On narrative criticism in Luke-Acts, see William S. Kurz, S.J., “Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts,” *Biblica* 68, no. 2 (1987): 195–220; F. Scott Spencer, “Acts and Modern Literary Approaches,” in *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, vol. 1 of *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 381–414; Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 21–25; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 487–90, 511–15; and Karl Allen Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts: A Social, Literary, and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 71–102. In NT studies generally, see Mark Allan Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); and James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005). An important prerequisite of performing narrative criticism is determining the text, including textual criticism. I will consider the text of Luke-Acts in ch. 3.

61 Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 24. By *plot* or *plotline* I mean “the sequence of events or incidents that make up a narrative.” Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 197. See also Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?*, 40–41. Rebecca Denova provides a similar definition tailored to Luke-Acts: “The sequence of events and the way in which these events are presented in thematic parallels in both books.” Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 25.

a table of plot-level correspondences between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. As for characterization, I will focus on two aspects of Luke's portrayal of key figures in Luke-Acts: Jesus, portrayed in Davidic terms, and the apostles and disciples, presented as eschatologically transformed royal personages (in parallel with the kings in SKNA 2).⁶² The concept of setting will be emphasized in chapter 6 with respect to Luke's "theological geography."⁶³

The recognition of literary patterns or parallels is another component of narrative criticism that will be central to this study.⁶⁴ Karl Allen Kuhn correctly observes that literary parallels do much of the "heavy lifting" in Luke's narrative by helping to express his overall theological worldview.⁶⁵ The main types of parallels I will examine are verbal, thematic, structural, and generic. Verbal parallels form the bedrock of any study of this type, as without clear verbal links between a text (Luke-Acts) and a proposed intertext (the SKNA), we cannot guard against speculation. I will note these continually throughout this study. Thematic parallels may be more difficult to detect, but they are just as important for identifying connections between one text and another. In chapter 4 I will especially consider the themes of *the kingdom of God* and *temple* as two points of thematic correspondence between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. Thematic parallels also include character parallels (e.g., between David and Jesus). Denova has observed that parallels of this type can convey an author's purposes in ways that go beyond explicit Scripture citations, because "the character type often controls the function of the narrative unit."⁶⁶ Much the same can be said for structural parallels, which will form a large part of the case made for the imitation of the SKNA in Acts. In chapter 6 we will see that Luke's choice of structuring devices (especially, the sequence of major

62 On characterization, see Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 121–65; and Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?*, 54–67. On Characterization in Luke-Acts, see especially the essays in Frank Dicken and Julia Snyder, eds, *Characters and Characterization in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 548 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016). A synopsis of past important studies is found on pp. 1–3. On Luke's Davidic portrait of Jesus, see ch. 4. On the apostles and disciples, see ch. 5.

63 On setting (and the related concept of *spatiality*) in studies of Acts, see Matthew Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts*, SNTSMS 146 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6–7, 22–56.

64 On patterns and parallels in Luke-Acts, see Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 104–19; Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 72–80; Keener, *Acts*, 1:550–64.

65 Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 105, 128–29.

66 Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 23. For similar observations about the function of subtle narrative patterns in Luke-Acts, see Richard B. Hays, *Reading Backwards: Figural Christology and the Fourfold Gospel Witness* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014), 99–100. On type and typology, see below.

characters and the use of speeches, prayers, and summaries) points toward his imitation of SKNA 2, which uses similar structural features. Finally, as for generic parallels, similarities between the genre of the SKNA and Luke-Acts, to be explored in chapter 3, lend credence to the present thesis, while shedding light on the question of the genre of Luke-Acts.

4.2 *Allusions and Echoes*

Consideration of literary allusions and echoes will constitute a major part of this study, as I attempt to demonstrate that the echoes of the SKNA throughout Luke-Acts render it likely that Luke has used it as a literary model.⁶⁷ Richard B. Hays famously proposed seven criteria for recognizing echoes in the NT:⁶⁸

1. *Availability*: Did the author and/or original audience have access to the echoed text?
2. *Volume*: How obvious is the proposed echo, as indicated especially by words, phrases, or stylistic features shared by the text and the intertext?
3. *Recurrence*: Is the same passage referred to in more than one place in a single work?
4. *Thematic Coherence*: Does the proposed echo match the theme of its surrounding context, as well as the theme of the source text?
5. *Historical Plausibility*: Is it likely that the author would have meant what the modern interpreter claims they would have by their use of the echo? Would the original audience have understood the reference?
6. *History of Interpretation*: Have other interpreters noticed the proposed echo?
7. *Satisfaction*: Does the suggested echo ultimately make good sense?

67 I use the terms *allusion* and *echo* interchangeably, as did Richard B. Hays in his seminal *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29. In his most recent work he seems to draw a distinction between them. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 10–11. On questions of terminology in the study of allusions and echoes, see David M. Allen, “Introduction: The Study of the Use of the Old Testament in the New,” *JSTOT* 38, no. 1 (2015): 10. A related (and contested) term, made popular in biblical studies by Hays’s work, is *intertextuality*. In line with Hays’s work, as well as widespread practice in biblical studies, I use this term in the sense of *the conscious and salient evocation of an earlier text by a later author* (which includes citations, allusions, and echoes). This is in contrast to the broader sense of intertextuality originally intended by Julia Kristeva, who coined the term. On intertextuality in NT studies, with a focus on Luke-Acts, see Litwak, “The Use of the OT in Luke-Acts,” 156–63. For a similar approach to detecting typology by means of allusions and echoes, see Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

68 Hays, *Echoes*, 29–32. Hays further discussed the criteria in *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 34–45.

The merits of Hays's criteria have been an object of intense and extended debate ever since they were first proposed.⁶⁹ While adjustments and clarifications are certainly salutary,⁷⁰ on the whole Hays's criteria can be a helpful guide in rendering a judgment as to whether a given echo is present or not. This is not to sweep the difficulties under the rug, but rather simply to recognize the complex nature of certain types of inferences that are made regularly in biblical studies, as well as in everyday life. That is, especially when attempting to discern subtle patterns—a ubiquitous component of human reasoning—it seems rational to rely on several, sometimes overlapping strands of evidence, considered together, as part of an overall convergent argument.⁷¹ In fact, the contribution of this study to the ongoing discussion of Hays's criteria would be to suggest the need to place discussion of them within a larger framework—not merely of Bayes' Theorem, as Christoph Heilig has ably done—but also in terms of inference to the best explanation and argumentation theory. As for Hays's criteria within this study, because of the large number of allusions and echoes we will be considering, it will not be possible to make explicit reference to the criteria as we discuss each proposed echo of the SKNA. Nevertheless, it should be assumed that they are at work in the background all throughout.

Perhaps a more pertinent set of criteria to consider is that of Dennis MacDonald, who has written extensively on alleged affinities between Homeric epic on the one hand, and the Gospels and Acts on the other.⁷² Irrespective

69 See especially Stanley Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 83; G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 34–35; Brandon D. Crowe, *The Obedient Son: Deuteronomy and Christology in the Gospel of Matthew*, BZNTW 188 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 14–17; and Litwak, "The Use of the OT in Luke-Acts," 158–59. An entirely different line of criticism, based on analyzing Hays's criteria in light of Bayes' Theorem, is found in Christoph Heilig, *Hidden Criticism? The Methodology and Plausibility of the Search for a Counter-Imperial Subtext in Paul*, WUNT 2/392 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 40–43. Heilig draws a sharp and perceptive distinction between "Volume" and "Satisfaction" on the one hand, and all the other criteria on the other. Heilig points out that, in Bayesian terms, the criteria other than "Volume" and "Satisfaction" establish the *background plausibility*, while those two establish the *likelihood* of a given allusion. That is, not all Hays's criteria are of equal importance in detecting echoes. This has some bite. On Bayes' Theorem, including its role in this study, see the following section.

70 Especially, moving the audience's access to the text (Hays's criterion 1) to "Historical Plausibility" (criterion 5); and thinking in Bayesian terms (per Heilig).

71 On convergent arguments, see the following section, "Methodology: Philosophy and Argumentation Theory."

72 Most recently in his *magnum opus*, MacDonald, *The Gospels and Homer*.

of MacDonald's thesis concerning Luke's use extensive of Homer, his methodological points are valuable. MacDonald has proposed seven criteria for recognizing the imitation of one entire literary work in another, which are presented here as a point of comparison with Hays:⁷³

1. *Accessibility*: Did the later author and audience have access to the imitated text? This is identical to Hays's "Availability."
2. *Analogy*: Have other authors imitated the same model?
3. *Density*: How many points of correspondence are there between the two alleged parallels? This can include "vocabulary, grammar, names, settings, characterization, and especially motifs."⁷⁴ This is similar to Hays's "Recurrence" and "Volume."
4. *Order*: Does the imitating text follow the same order of events as the imitated text?
5. *Distinctive Traits*: Does the imitating text share any other distinctive features with the imitated text? This might include "a significant name or a telling word, phrase, literary context, or motif."⁷⁵
6. *Interpretability*: What kind of interpretive payoff would result from the supposed imitation? Is such imitation explicable? This seems similar to Hays's "Satisfaction."
7. *Later Recognition*: Have others, especially in antiquity, recognized the proposed mimesis? This is equivalent to Hays's "History of Interpretation."⁷⁶

It is probably no coincidence that several of MacDonald's criteria are similar to Hays's, since mimesis of a literary work essentially amounts to an extended allusion to another text. As for analysis and critique, the same point made above with respect to Hays's criteria should be made with respect to MacDonald's as well: the most important critique of such criteria is not so much that this or that element should be tweaked or excised, but rather, that all of them need to be placed within a larger framework. As will become clear in the following section, I propose a methodology that combines elements of Bayes' Theorem, inference to the best explanation, and argumentation theory. Where MacDonald's criteria are concerned, all, as with Hays's criteria, are not created equal. Two of them ("Accessibility" and "Analogy") speak to the *background plausibility* in Bayesians terms, while the remainder speak to the *likelihood*. As

⁷³ Ibid., 6–7.

⁷⁴ Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 5.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ MacDonald added this criterion in his latest work. MacDonald, *The Gospels and Homer*, 6–7.

for how to evaluate several criteria together, they should, as I will explain further below, be considered as part of a convergent argument.⁷⁷

Although MacDonald's criteria will not be used to determine the overall plausibility of this thesis, some brief comment on the subject is made here. Concerning "Accessibility," Luke clearly had access to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.⁷⁸ Regarding "Analogy," in chapter 2 we will see several examples of other ancient authors imitating Samuel-Kings (the Book of Chronicles being foremost). "Density" will be demonstrated, to varying degrees, as each proposed parallel is taken in turn, while a shared "Order" is emphasized especially in chapters 4, 6, and 7. In many places we will observe shared "Distinctive Traits," while the "Interpretability" of the thesis is argued for throughout.⁷⁹ Finally, as for "Later Recognition," with the exception of one twentieth century scholar (Thiering), apparently no one else in the history of interpretation has acknowledged a plot-level parallel between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. I have not, however, investigated the history of interpretation in light of this possibility, and, moreover, the early sundering of Luke from Acts (as Luke came to be viewed as part of the fourfold Gospel) might well have prevented early interpreters from acknowledging the parallels. What we find often depends on what we seek.

4.3 *Typology and Eschatological Inversion*

Typology, as used in this study, means the study of biblical types, where *type* is understood to mean "a biblical event, person, or institution which serves as an example or pattern for other events, persons, or institutions."⁸⁰ Several of the Lukan literary features referred to above (especially concerning characterization and parallels) could be described in terms of typology: Luke recognizes certain OT patterns as being recapitulated in the time of Jesus and the disciples.

77 Some critique of MacDonald's criteria can be found in Robert S. Kinney, *Hellenistic Dimensions of the Gospel of Matthew: Background and Rhetoric*, WUNT 2/414 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 255–57. For critique of MacDonald's theory concerning Homer and Acts, see the following section of the study, as well as Sandnes, "Imitatio Homeri?" MacDonald responds to critics, Sandnes in particular, in *The Gospels and Homer*, 7–24.

78 See ch. 4 for evidence of Luke's knowledge of these books.

79 As will be seen below, this is equivalent to "likelihood" in Bayes' Theorem.

80 David L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 327–28. See also Beale, *Handbook*, 14–25; Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical Typos Structures* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981); and Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982). On typology in Luke-Acts, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:487–91.

But “recapitulation” does not mean mere repetition, for typology carries with it the idea of *escalation*, and often involves *eschatological inversion* as well. Escalation means that “the antitype (the NT correspondence) is heightened in some way in relation to the OT type.”⁸¹ The NT figure is greater than the OT figure. Eschatological inversion refers to the unexpected reversal of conditions in the end times—especially, “the exaltation of the lowly and the humbling of the proud.”⁸²

Both escalation and eschatological inversion, staples of Second Temple Jewish thought, are on display in Luke-Acts. As for escalation, in Luke (and elsewhere in the NT) this is most obviously seen with respect to Jesus, who is not merely *like* David or a *new* David; he is a “greater David.”⁸³ In this study I will also argue that escalation applies to the disciples of Jesus, in their typological correspondence to the kings of the SKNA. That is, for Luke, not only are the apostles and disciples *like* the kings of old, but also *greater* than them in an inverted sense. For, whereas the kings of the SKNA failed to be faithful to David’s example, the kings of Luke-Acts—the followers of Jesus—are shown to be faithful to their king.⁸⁴

Concerning eschatological inversion, in Luke-Acts this is usually acknowledged to be in play with respect to the poor (e.g., Luke 1:52), or with the gentiles in Acts who seem, at least for a time, to have switched places with the Jewish people in God’s plan.⁸⁵ I will argue that another instance of eschatological inversion in Luke-Acts concerns the disciples in their royal identity who, by virtue of their vice-regency with Jesus (David’s true heir), are “lifted up” along with David’s “fallen tent” to the place of prominence shared by their King (Acts 15:16; cf. Amos 9:11).

One feature of Lukan typology that must be firmly acknowledged is the existence of multiple, overlapping typologies for the same figure. This can be easily demonstrated with respect to Jesus. In many places, Luke clearly presents Jesus in Davidic terms (e.g., Luke 1:32; 2:4, 11; 6:3–5; Acts 2:25–35; 13:22–23, 34–37, etc.). Yet at the same time, in other places Luke presents Jesus

81 Beale, *Handbook*, 14. For full discussion, see *ibid.*, 14–18; and Goppelt, *Typos*, 18.

82 Craig S. Keener, *The Historical Jesus of the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 208. For full discussion, see *ibid.*, 208–10; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:476, 508, 784. An equivalent term is “eschatological reversal.” See Brandon D. Crowe, “Fulfillment in Matthew as Eschatological Reversal,” *WTJ* 75, no. 1 (2013): 111–27.

83 Miura especially emphasizes the typological correspondence of David and Jesus in Luke-Acts. Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*. For escalation, see, e.g., 241.

84 See ch. 5.

85 See, e.g., Acts 18:6; 28:24–28. I agree with Keener, however, that Acts does not envisage an ultimate rejection of the Jewish people. Keener, *Acts*, 4:3718–19.

in typological correspondence with Elijah or Elisha (e.g., Luke 4:25–27; 7:11–17 [cf. 1 Kgs 17:17–24]; 9:54 [cf. 2 Kgs 1:10–15]), while in still other places, Moses is the predominant OT type with whom Jesus is compared (Acts 3:22–23; cf. Deut 18:15–20; Acts 7:20–40). Starting from the OT side, Luke also compares the same OT type to different NT antitypes (e.g., Elijah corresponds not only to Jesus, but to John the Baptist; see Luke 1:17). Failure to recognize the flexible, multivalent nature of Lukan typology will lead us to miss crucial connections and privilege one typological trajectory at the expense of another. As with Luke's patterns and parallels generally, we must be open to seeing multiple, overlapping typologies as part of Luke's narrative strategy.⁸⁶

5 Methodology: Philosophy and Argumentation Theory

In this study I will supplement the narrative-critical methodology described above with a philosophically-oriented methodology combining elements of Bayes' Theorem, inference to the best explanation, and argumentation theory.

5.1 Bayes' Theorem

Bayes' Theorem is a mathematical formula used to determine the probability of one event based on another.⁸⁷ While the precise formula is not important for our purposes, two aspects of the theorem are: first, Bayes' Theorem distinguishes between two types of probabilities, and second, it implies that one of them can be more influential than the other.

Consider the example of a medical test that correctly determines the presence of an illness 95 percent of the time, while it gives a false positive 10 percent of the time.⁸⁸ Based on this information alone, we might be tempted to conclude that if a test comes back positive, it means that a person almost certainly has the illness. However, this only takes one kind of probability into account—the probability that the disease is present given a positive result. In

86 See Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 115–17. Denova helpfully suggests that “determination of which typology prevails in any given event is dependent upon the particular circumstances of the plot.” Ibid., 116.

87 For explanations of Bayes' Theorem, see Richard Swinburne, “Introduction,” in *Bayes' Theorem*, ed. Richard Swinburne, Proceedings of the British Academy 113 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1–20; James Joyce, “Bayes' Theorem,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter, 2016 Edition), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/bayes-theorem>; and Heilig, *Hidden Criticism?*, 27–35. The formula can be found in Appendix with further explanation.

88 This example is presented in greater detail in Appendix.

Bayesian terms, this is called the *likelihood* or the *conditional probability*. But there is another type of probability that must be taken into account: the *prior probability*. This is the probability, apart from any test, that a person would have the illness in the first place. Let us suppose that the prior probability—that is, the rate of this illness among the general population—is a low 1 percent. Applying Bayes' Theorem yields the unintuitive yet perhaps welcome result that, despite the positive test result, the chance that the person has the illness is only about 9 percent.⁸⁹ What has happened is that the prior probability has, in effect, overridden the seemingly weighty probability presented by the specific evidence in front of us. The reverse is also true; a high prior probability can “override” a low probability indicated by a specific instance. This example demonstrates two things: first, there are different kinds of probabilities and different kinds of evidence; and second, one of them, the prior probability, can exert an outsize influence on the final probability judgment.

Bayes' Theorem can be applied with great effect even to fields that are not based on statistics, such as history or biblical studies.⁹⁰ Scholars in these fields routinely put forward hypotheses that claim to account for some body of evidence. Bayes' Theorem can, in the first place, help us to recognize that not all evidence supports a given hypothesis in the same way. Some of the evidence will support the conditional probability (likelihood), while other evidence will support the prior probability. Thought of another way, any given piece of evidence in support of a theory will answer one of two questions: How well does the hypothesis explain the data? (This is the conditional probability.) And, how likely is the hypothesis, apart from considering any of the data? (This is the prior probability.)⁹¹ Thus, by casting theories in Bayesian terms, arguments

89 For a Bayes' Theorem calculator, see <http://psych.fullerton.edu/mbirnbaum/bayes/BayesCalc.htm>.

90 On Bayesianism in historiography, see Aviezer Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95–140; Mark Day and Gregory Radick, “Historiographic Evidence and Confirmation,” in *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*, ed. Aviezer Tucker (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 87–97; and C. Behan McCullagh, *Justifying Historical Descriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 57–58. In biblical studies, see especially Heilig, *Hidden Criticism?* Heilig has applied Bayes' Theorem to N. T. Wright's thesis of anti-Imperial echoes in Paul, pointing out that, while the theory of anti-Imperial echoes would explain what we see in Paul (that is, the likelihood is sufficiently high), the background plausibility of Paul dropping anti-Imperial hints in the first place must be more closely examined. Additionally, as of late 2022 there is a Facebook group devoted to the topic of “Bayes and Bible.” <https://www.facebook.com/groups/455363809465242>.

91 The two questions come from Heilig, *Hidden Criticism?*, 26–27.

can, in the first place, achieve greater clarity by distinguishing between different types of evidence that supports them.

A second way that Bayes' Theorem can be useful in biblical studies is that it can help us pay closer attention to the background factors that affect a theory. In biblical studies quite often the focus is only on the first of the two questions mentioned above. That is, scholars routinely attempt to demonstrate merely the explanatory power of a hypothesis, showing that *if* their theory were true, the evidence presented would be expected and natural.⁹² But while this is, of course, crucial, Bayes' Theorem tells us that it is only part of what we ought to consider. It is also vital to consider the prior probability of the hypothesis we are proposing; to ask whether it is likely in its own right. Since, as pointed out above, the prior probability can have an enormous influence on the overall probability (or *posterior probability*) of an argument, establishing the probability of background factors can help make arguments stronger. Along with this, Bayes' Theorem can also provide a basis for evaluating the relative strengths and weaknesses of different theories, as I will attempt to demonstrate below for the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA. For these reasons, I contend that applying Bayes' Theorem to arguments in biblical studies is salutary.⁹³

This is not to suggest that using Bayes' Theorem is without complications. Beyond the impossibility of assigning precise statistical probabilities to either the likelihood or the prior probability in fields such as biblical studies, there are two difficulties in particular. The first difficulty is, how do we determine which background factors—out of the myriad available—ought to be considered in order to establish a reasonable judgment concerning prior probability?⁹⁴ Although this well-known problem admits of no objective solution, nevertheless, in most cases one—or more likely several—factors can be presented which can arguably establish the prior probability of a given state of affairs.

92 Or, perhaps more commonly, scholars unreflectively present evidence that mixes the concerns of both questions. This point is central to Christoph Heilig's recent critique of Richard B. Hays's criteria for recognizing literary echoes. *Ibid.*, 40–43.

93 This picture of Bayes' Theorem is simplified slightly. In actuality there is a further distinction made between the prior probability and the "background knowledge" that affects all aspects of a Bayesian equation—that is, the prior probability and likelihood alike. Thus, in the following paragraph I indicate that the way to determine a single prior probability judgment is to weigh all the "background factors"—that is, the background knowledge in Bayesian terms—together. On background factors, see *ibid.*, 30–33; Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past*, 96–97.

94 See Swinburne, "Introduction," 10, 16–17.

In this study I will present six background factors which help to establish the prior probability that Luke imitated the SKNA.⁹⁵

The second difficulty with using Bayes' Theorem for biblical studies concerns the scenario when multiple factors contribute to either the prior probability or the likelihood. In such cases—which are the rule rather than the exception—how ought several factors to be conjoined or weighed together in order to arrive at an overall probability judgment? This too is a difficult problem. One option would be to *nest* the probabilities in such a way that the second depends on the first, the third on the second, and so on. In this scenario, if any one factor fails, the overall probability judgment is rendered so low as to essentially disprove the thesis.⁹⁶ However, while this approach makes for a straightforward procedure, it simply does not reflect the way that different issues contribute toward an overall conclusion in many cases. Thus, instead of nesting conditions, I propose that, at least as far as this study is concerned, a better approach is to instead make an *inference to the best explanation* that takes all the factors into account.⁹⁷ I will discuss inference to the best explanation below.

5.1.1 Bayes' Theorem and the Present Study

In this study I will use Bayes' Theorem, first, by making a distinction between the prior probability of the argument and its explanatory potential, and second, by demonstrating that there is a reasonably high prior probability for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template.⁹⁸ Chapters 2 and 3 (and part of chapter 4) are, for the most part, devoted to establishing the prior probability of the thesis. I will explore six background factors that, taken together, render it plausible that Luke would have used the SKNA in the way that I propose. The

95 See "Plan of the Study," below. For now, to name one, if no author in the ancient world engaged in literary mimesis, it would be extremely difficult to argue that Luke did. Establishing that mimesis was widespread is an important step toward claiming that Luke imitated another work.

96 This is the approach chosen by Heilig in his analysis of N. T. Wright. Heilig proposes five nested necessary conditions to establish a prior probability of Paul's use of anti-Imperial echoes. Heilig, *Hidden Criticism?*, 43–46. For other proposals for jointly considering multiple factors, see McCullagh, *Justifying Historical Descriptions*, 54–59.

97 For an approach toward using IBE for both likelihoods and prior probabilities that is compatible with this proposal, see Peter Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 113–16. As a concrete example of the need to combine multiple factors into one overall probability judgment, consider legal trials in which a verdict of guilty or not guilty is offered as the singular explanation for multiple lines of evidence.

98 To be clear, to say that "there is a reasonably high prior probability" is not to imply a precise statistical value. Rather, the sense intended is, "It is quite plausible."

later chapters (4–7) will largely be concerned with presenting the evidence from Luke-Acts—twelve factors in all—that demonstrates that the theory has great explanatory potential.⁹⁹ Bayes' Theorem suggests that if only this latter evidence were presented, it would establish merely the general likelihood, or conditional probability, of the theory. This study, then, would merely be one in a long line of similar studies that claim to make “good sense” of what we find in Luke-Acts. But by attending to background factors, the aim is to establish not only that Luke's use of the SKNA makes good sense, but moreover, that there is a greater inherent plausibility that Luke, writing in his milieu, would have done just such a thing as I propose. All throughout the study, I will use the language of “prior probability” and “explanatory potential” (or “explanatory power”), language which ought to be understood as referring back to the two parts of the Bayesian framework outlined here.

One advantage of using a Bayesian framework is that it allows for comparison of this thesis with other similar proposals. For example, Thomas Brodie, in arguing for the use of the EEN as a literary template in Luke-Acts, carefully establishes the widespread presence of literary mimesis in antiquity. This could be thought of as a prior probability that works in his favor (as it does in mine). However, Brodie does not offer any examples of an ancient author using the actual text that his hypothesis is based on—the EEN, or portions of it—as a literary template.¹⁰⁰ By comparison, I will present several examples in chapter 2 of Second Temple Jewish works that use portions of the SKNA as a literary template, making it more likely that Luke would have done the same thing.

Another example, already mentioned above, is the work of Dennis MacDonald, who has argued for the literary imitation of Homer in the Book of Acts and the Gospel of Mark. MacDonald argues in part from the wide availability and immense popularity of Homer in antiquity—points which are undisputed, and which work as a prior probability in his favor. However MacDonald's thesis is open to serious criticism on the grounds that he cannot adequately demonstrate that the NT authors have “advertised” the Homeric source in any clear way, such as by means of quotations or clear allusions.¹⁰¹ Instead, he relies chiefly on supposed plot parallels between Homer and Mark,

99 See “Plan of the Study,” below.

100 See Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 5–70.

101 This is the essence of Karl Olav Sandnes's critique of MacDonald's work on Mark. Sandnes, “*Imitatio Homeri?*,” 725–31. Sandnes acknowledges that a stronger case can be made for Acts on the basis of supposed Homeric echoes during the storm narrative in Acts 27:41. However, these too in my view are slim and cannot compete with the patent and obvious “advertising” of the OT in general, and the SKNA, in particular that we see all throughout

and some possible Homeric echoes in Acts. This lack of “advertisement” could also be thought of as a prior probability, but one that works *against* his argument. That is, since there is no *clear* evidence for Mark’s or Luke’s use of Homer (a few phrases in Acts notwithstanding), the confidence in supposed *subtle* use plummets. In Bayesian terms, all we are left with is the general likelihood of Luke’s or Mark’s use of Homer, and even that does not seem particularly high. For this reason, in chapter 4 I will adduce clear evidence that not only was Luke familiar with both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (on the basis of multiple allusions and echoes), but he also, through the echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke, “advertises” the source with sufficient clarity. This opens the door that Luke may have used the SKNA in more subtle ways as well.

5.2 *Inference to the Best Explanation*

Inference to the best explanation is a key concept for several components of this study. Inference to the best explanation (IBE), also known as *abductive reasoning* or *abduction*, is a form of reasoning used throughout everyday life, as well as in fields as diverse as science, history, and law.¹⁰² It means to argue from effect to cause; to form a conclusion that best accounts for a set of facts. The concept was first clearly formulated by nineteenth century philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, who distinguished abduction from both deduction and induction. Since Peirce’s day, the status of IBE as a third type of reasoning has achieved nearly universal assent.

By way of example, imagine that you are sitting at home on a summer evening when you observe a bright flash of light outside the window, followed a few seconds later by a loud rumble and the sound of water drops hitting the windowpane. In a matter of seconds you might infer—without any conscious deliberation—that the best explanation for the light and the two sounds is that a thunderstorm has rolled in. This is an abductive inference, or an inference to the best explanation.

Besides commonplace examples like this, IBE is used throughout the arts and sciences, whether it is referred to explicitly or not. For example, most scientific theories, such as Charles Darwin’s theory of natural selection, or

Luke-Acts. Ibid., 728. On Homeric parallels in Acts, see also F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, Revised ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 474, 493.

102 On IBE, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*; Igor Douven, “Abduction,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter, 2016 Edition), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/abduction>; and Douglas Walton, *Abductive Reasoning* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 1–17. On IBE in historiography, see McCullagh, *Justifying Historical Descriptions*, 16–44.

Einstein's theory of general relativity, are inferences to the best explanation.¹⁰³ In the field of history, so is any proposed explanation for something that happened in the past, such as the causes of the American Revolution or the fall of the Roman Empire. IBE is also what is used to prove a case in law, as well as what a detective employs in forming a conclusion as to "whodunit." Had Peirce's writings been more widely available when Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was writing his mysteries, Sherlock Holmes might well have more accurately claimed, "It's simple *abduction*, my dear Watson."

IBE is also used ubiquitously throughout biblical studies, albeit (as with the previous examples) usually not explicitly. A rare exception, however, is N. T. Wright, who has, in places throughout his vast writings, invoked IBE or related ideas in connection with his methodology.¹⁰⁴ As with Bayes' Theorem, I believe that thinking in terms of IBE can help bring clarity to arguments in biblical studies.

5.2.1 Determining the Best Explanation

But what is an explanation? While the notion of *explanation* is not easy to define with precision, philosopher Peter Lipton has helpfully proposed a conception of explanation that is based on *causation*: an explanation provides the *causal history* of the thing to be explained.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the thunderstorm example above is an explanation because it is a causal account: thunderstorms cause lightning, thunder, and rain, and so the fact that these three phenomena occurred is explained by the thunderstorm hypothesis. In the same way, in the case of Luke's use of the SKNA, by presenting the theory in terms of IBE

¹⁰³ At this point we might draw a helpful distinction between theories proposed as initial hypotheses and those established after verification. Abductive reasoning describes the process that leads to both; the difference is a matter of the nature and strength of the explanation.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Wright, *NTPG*, 42–43; N. T. Wright, "In Grateful Dialogue: A Response," in *Jesus and the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God*, ed. Carey C. Newman (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 249–50; Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 3 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 716–18; and Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 4, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), xviii. For an analysis of Wright's use of IBE in his *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, see Theresa Heilig and Christoph Heilig, "Historical Methodology," in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul*, eds. Christoph Heilig, J. Thomas Hewitt and Michael F. Bird, WUNT 2/413 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 115–50.

¹⁰⁵ Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 18–19, 30–33. See also Heilig and Heilig, "Historical Methodology," 122–23.

I am claiming that the influence of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is what *causes* some of the features we find in Luke-Acts.

As for how to determine the “best” explanation, at first glance it might be tempting to say that it is the one that is “likeliest”—that is, the most probable.¹⁰⁶ However, Peter Lipton has pointed out that the problem with this idea is that in many cases we are dealing with multiple contrasting explanations, and we are trying to determine which of them is the *most* likely. We must therefore decide “likeliness” (i.e., probability) on the basis of something else. Instead of likeliness, Lipton has proposed “loveliness”: the best explanation is the “loveliest” one—that is, it is the one that provides the most total understanding.¹⁰⁷ Thus, on this account, to make an inference to the best explanation means to infer that the causal history of a phenomenon which provides the most total understanding is likely to be true.

Determining which explanation provides total understanding, in turn, is accomplished through testing. In the sciences, testing might take the form of experiments designed to confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis. In fields like biblical studies, we can make arguments that attempt to relate the data to the hypothesis, and we can ask various questions of a hypothesis as a means of testing it.¹⁰⁸ Another important tool for testing hypotheses is contrast. Normally, we do not consider potential explanations in a vacuum, but rather we compare them to other ones—a “fact” and a “foil” side-by-side—to see which one is better.¹⁰⁹ Beyond this, the “explanatory virtues,” such as simplicity, fruitfulness,

106 Here, “likeliest” and “likeliness”—both Lipton’s terms—are used as synonyms for “most probable” and “probability,” respectively. “Likeliness” in this context is not to be confused with Bayesian likelihood, described above. There is some regrettable confusion in the terminology at this point owing to discussing two different concepts together.

107 Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 59–62. Lipton proposes first using likeliness to narrow down the many options available. *Ibid.*, 61.

108 Different fields have proposed different questions to ask. For historiography, see McCullagh, *Justifying Historical Descriptions*, 19. In argumentation theory, see Douglas Walton, *Methods of Argumentation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 84, 162–63. In biblical studies, consider the criteria that have been proposed for detecting echoes and literary mimesis by, among others, Richard B. Hays and Dennis MacDonald, described above.

109 In the thunderstorm example, if you were living in a war zone, you might consider an explosion as an alternate explanation for the light, loud sound, and tinkling noise on the windowpane. Here, the presence of rain might be decisive, as explosions do not cause rain. On the crucial role of comparison in evaluating theories, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 30–54; Heilig, *Hidden Criticism?*, 33–34; and Heilig and Heilig, “Historical Methodology,” 120–21, 123.

and fit with other knowledge, often serve as a guide.¹¹⁰ One additional explanatory consideration is one that was noted by Peirce in his original formulation of abduction: a successful abductive inference will show how certain “surprising facts” would be expected and natural—“a matter of course” in Peirce’s idiom—if the theory in question were true.¹¹¹ Thus, in a word, we might say that the best explanation is the one that gives the most *satisfying* causal history of a given state of affairs.

5.2.2 IBE, Bayes’ Theorem, and This Study

The preceding account of IBE seems to me to be generally correct. In this study as a whole, and at many points throughout, I will argue that the theory of Luke’s use of the SKNA as a literary template provides the most satisfying explanation for certain phenomena that we find throughout Luke-Acts. To this end, in many places I will explicitly appeal to the language of “surprising facts,” pointing out that many heretofore unexplained features of Luke-Acts would be “a matter of course”—that is, expected and natural—if the theory were true. With respect to the importance of contrast in establishing theories, at various points I will consider alternate explanations for the data presented.¹¹² As for the theory of Luke’s imitation of the SKNA as a whole, here, the “foil”—the main alternative explanation for the data—is simply that the confluence of features I put forward as evidence is a coincidence.¹¹³

As for how IBE fits in with Bayes’ Theorem, first, as mentioned above, the basic shape of the argument is Bayesian: I explicitly frame the argument in terms of the prior probability and the explanatory power.¹¹⁴ Then, in order to establish each of these, I will appeal to the concept of IBE. That is, for both the

110 Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 121–23, 138–40; Douven, “Abduction.”

111 Walton, *Abductive Reasoning*, 13. I will use Peirce’s terms “surprising fact” and “a matter of course” throughout this study. For example, if you are walking barefoot across a floor where children have been lately playing, a sharp, searing pain in your foot becomes a surprising fact which would be a matter of course if you had just stepped on a LEGO® toy.

112 See especially ch. 7 on the ending of Acts.

113 This too is quite common in abductive cases. Again, consider a legal trial in which the jury, after considering a complex abductive case advanced by the prosecution, can simply return a verdict of not guilty without further specificity. See A. P. Dawid, “Bayes’s Theorem and Juries,” in *Bayes’s Theorem*, ed. Richard Swinburne, Proceedings of the British Academy 113 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 72.

114 The issue of the relationship between Bayes’ Theorem and IBE is contested in the philosophical literature. On the relationship between the two, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 104–20; and Heilig and Heilig, “Historical Methodology,” 127–31. Lipton argues that the two are compatible in a number of ways.

prior probability and the predictive power, I aver that my proposal gives the most total understanding of the evidence.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA *as a whole* could also be construed as an inference to the best explanation.¹¹⁶ In fact, where multiple lines of disparate evidence must be combined to reach a conclusion, as here, it is hard to think of a more appropriate model than IBE. This leads us to one last component to be incorporated into the methodology.

5.3 *Argumentation Theory*

The final element needed to complete this methodology is the term *convergent argument* from the field of argumentation theory. Argumentation theory is a field of study that combines informal logic with concepts and concerns drawn from other fields such as psychology and Artificial Intelligence.¹¹⁷ One of the concerns of argumentation theory is to lay bare the different types of structures that underlie various arguments. One of these logical structures is the *convergent argument*, in which "two or more premises each independently support the conclusion."¹¹⁸ A convergent argument may be contrasted with a *linked argument*, in which the premises are dependent on one another in such a way that if one fails, the entire argument fails.¹¹⁹ In a convergent argument, since the premises are independent of one another, if one is weak or false, the entire argument does not necessarily fall apart. It is, rather, the collective weight of the evidence, each piece of which is an independent "stream," that points toward a conclusion.¹²⁰ Thus, the evidence that I am presenting throughout this study is offered as a convergent argument. In chapters 2 and 3 (and the beginning of 4) I will present six pieces of evidence that converge to

115 For a similar assessment of the role of IBE in assessing likelihood, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 114–15; Day and Radick, "Historiographic Evidence and Confirmation," 93–94; and Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past*, 99. For prior probabilities, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 115–16; Stathis Psillos, "Inference to the Best Explanation and Bayesianism," in *Induction and Deduction in the Sciences*, ed. Friedrich Stadler, Vienna Circle Institute Yearbook (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic, 2004), 87–88. See "Plan of the Study," below.

116 For IBE as a practical shorthand for a Bayesian inference, see Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 113–14, 120.

117 Walton, *Methods of Argumentation*, 1–4.

118 Ibid., 19.

119 For example, a standard syllogism—such as (a) Tweety is a bird; (b) all birds fly; therefore (c) Tweety flies—is a form of linked argument. If either (a) or (b) fails, the argument fails.

120 Thus, "convergent argument" would seem to mean the same as "cumulative case," a term often associated with biblical apologetics. See, e.g., Paul D. Feinberg, "Cumulative Case Apologetics," in *Five Views on Apologetics*, ed. Steven B. Cowan (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 148–56.

indicate a reasonably high prior probability for the thesis, while in chapters 4 through 7 I will exhibit twelve “streams” of evidence from Luke-Acts which, taken together, serve to establish its predictive power. While each stream of evidence must be evaluated on its own terms, the overall strength of the argument depends on the collective weight of all of the various streams, considered together in some way that is impossible to describe with precision.

5.4 *Synthesis: Bayes’ Theorem, IBE, and Argumentation Theory*

To sum up, from Bayes’ Theorem we learn the need to distinguish between two different types of evidence, as well as the importance of prior probabilities. We also gain greater clarity concerning how competing theories can be evaluated (that is, especially by comparing the prior probabilities). From IBE we gain insight into how prior probabilities and likelihoods are determined, including the value of contrasting competing theories. We also discern the essential nature of this argument—and indeed all arguments in biblical studies: they are attempts to provide an explanation (understood as a causal history) of a phenomenon. We also learn the terminology of “surprising fact.” From argumentation theory we add the useful term *convergent argument*.

It is my hope that the methodology I adopt here can be used to bring greater strength and clarity to arguments in biblical studies. It is certainly not claimed that it guarantees correct conclusions, but if nothing else I believe it can help to produce better theories by making the reasons for failure more transparent, as well as by providing a more objective basis for comparison with other proposals of the same type. Above all, I am contending for an approach toward making arguments in biblical studies that I think could be applied more widely to great effect. It is clear that much more work needs to be done in this area, and I view the present proposal merely as one step in this direction.

Furthermore, this methodology is not adopted out of a desire to be innovative, but rather in large part to anticipate what might be the strongest objection to the thesis: that the evidence is simply too subtle. I concede that much of it is subtle. But by incorporating Bayes’ Theorem, and by taking pains, in chapters 2 and 3, to establish the prior probability of Luke imitating the SKNA, I answer this objection as well as it can be answered. That is, even if the evidence proper (in chapters 4–7) is subtle, the contention is that the earlier-established prior probability (chapters 2–3) elevates the relevance of the evidence, subtle though it may be. Additionally, understanding how convergent arguments work also helps to mitigate this charge. While it is impossible to pinpoint precisely how evidence should be weighed in a convergent argument, nevertheless it seems rational, especially in light of a Bayesian prior probability, to argue in favor of a conclusion based on the confluence of several streams of evidence, any one

of which, taken on its own, might be difficult to establish with overwhelming certainty. In short, subtlety can be underpinned methodologically by establishing a prior probability and by acknowledging the validity of convergent arguments. The following section will make these points clearer.

6 Plan of the Study

Chapters 2 and 3 present the main prior probabilities of the Bayesian argument. In chapter 2 we will examine Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. After determining a likely Greek text of these books that Luke would have had access to and used, I will look at them in their OT context, noting several key themes they share in common with Luke-Acts. We will then consider the reading and reception of these books in the Second Temple period. After presenting a taxonomy of Second Temple period uses of Scripture within which to situate Luke-Acts, I will present evidence for four important factors that contribute toward the background plausibility of Luke's use of the SKNA (listed below).

In chapter 3, turning to Luke's Greco-Roman environment, I will first make some important observations on the genre of Luke-Acts. The bulk of the chapter, however, will be devoted to examining the ancient literary practice of mimesis, with the ubiquity of mimesis as a fifth component of the prior probability. I will not only demonstrate that mimesis was widespread, thus increasing the probability that Luke would have imitated an earlier work, but I will furthermore propose a new fivefold taxonomy of imitational mimesis that can be employed outside of Luke-Acts or NT studies. One of the five elements of this taxonomy is *structural mimesis*, or the imitation of a prior literary work in terms of its structure. The contention of this study is that Luke's use of the SKNA is an example of structural mimesis. A sixth element of the prior probability is found at the beginning of chapter 4: Luke's clear awareness of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, without which demonstrating subtle use would be all but futile.¹²¹

Taking chapters 2, 3, and the beginning of 4 together, six factors combine to establish a prior probability for the study:

1. SKNA material is common in Second Temple Jewish literature (ch. 2)
2. Several works use portions of Samuel-Kings as a literary template (ch. 2)

121 This point is included in ch. 4 because, although it is also a background factor, it has to do with material drawn from Luke-Acts, not other sources. Also, other factors could potentially have been brought into play to establish the prior probability. I believe the six I presented are both important and demonstrable.

3. Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are often read and interpreted as single story (ch. 2)
4. Several works discern a narrative arc in the SKNA (ch. 2)
5. In Greco-Roman literature, including historiography, mimesis was a widespread practice, including structural mimesis (ch. 3)
6. Luke is clearly aware of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, on the basis of clear allusions, rendering a more subtle use more likely (ch. 4)

Next, chapters 4–7 constitute the likelihood of the Bayesian argument. In chapter 4 I will present evidence for Luke's use of the SKNA that is more widely acknowledged (for example, the oft-noted influence of the beginning of 1 Samuel on the beginning of the Gospel of Luke). I will also present three core Lukan themes that are also prominent in the SKNA (Davidic Christology, the kingdom of God, and temple), as well as some likely plot parallels between SKNA 1 and Luke.

In chapter 5 I will make an argument that is crucial for the parallel with the SKNA: Luke, in ways unique among the four Evangelists, presents the apostles and disciples as heirs of the kingdom of David. This can be observed most clearly in Luke's institution narrative (Luke 22:14–30, especially vv. 29–30), but also in other texts, as well as through other means of characterization. Moreover, Luke generally characterizes the apostles and disciples as *royal* figures. This royal characterization of the followers of Jesus makes it plausible that Luke conceives of them as acting in a role analogous to the kings of the Old Testament.

Chapter 6 focuses on several structural features of Luke and Acts that indicate influence from the SKNA. These include: Luke's unique "theological geography" (that is, geography in service of theological ends); the sequence of major characters in the Book of Acts; and the use of speeches, prayers, and summaries in Acts. I will argue that all of these features are similar to ones used to structure the SKNA (especially SKNA 2), and their presence in Luke-Acts—especially all of them together, as in Acts—points toward Luke's use of the OT model. This chapter will also include some observations on Luke's approach to historiography in general that are drawn from the OT and the SKNA.

Finally, in chapter 7 we will look at the ending of Luke, and the beginning and ending of Acts. Here I will argue that, just as Luke echoes the beginning of SKNA 1 at the beginning of Luke (i.e., in the infancy narrative), so he also echoes the corresponding portion of the SKNA at the three other critical structural points in his narrative. Ancient authors, it is widely recognized, paid particular attention to the way their books began and ended. In light of this, Luke's echoes of the SKNA at these points are strong evidence of his use of the OT model, as well as being a case of structural mimesis. This means that it is not

simply the case that Luke alludes to the SKNA in a general or diffuse manner, but rather, he echoes it in the most important places.

Taken together, chapters 4–7 contain twelve lines of evidence to be construed as a convergent argument:

1. Davidic Christology (ch. 4)
2. Kingdom theme (ch. 4)
3. Temple theme (ch. 4)
4. Echo of 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke (ch. 4)
5. Royal characterization of the disciples (ch. 5)
6. Theological geography (ch. 6)
7. Sequence of major characters as a structural feature in Acts (ch. 6)
8. Speeches, prayers, and summaries in Acts (ch. 6)
9. SKNA elements of Luke's historiography (ch. 6)
10. Echo of the ending of SKNA 1 at the ending of Luke (ch. 7)
11. Echo of the beginning of SKNA 2 at the beginning of Acts (ch. 7)
12. Echo of the ending of SKNA 2 at the ending of Acts (ch. 7)

In line with the methodology laid out in the previous section, my claim is that all of this evidence together, considered as a convergent argument and an inference to the best explanation within a Bayesian framework, leads to the conclusion that Luke was influenced by the combined narrative of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in the composition of Luke-Acts.

7 Assumptions and Clarifications

7.1 *Assumptions*

Throughout this study, I will refer to the anonymous author of both Luke and Acts as “Luke.”¹²² I will also refer to Luke's “audience,” “original audience,” “readers,” “hearers,” and the like, while claiming no great precision for the use of these terms, and acknowledging all the standard difficulties they imply.¹²³ As for dating, this thesis depends on no particular view of the date of Luke and Acts.¹²⁴ I also remain, for the purposes of this study, agnostic with respect to

122 For a discussion on authorship, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:402–22. I believe this thesis has an implication for the issue of whether the author of Luke-Acts was gentile or Jewish: it adds support to the claim that Luke was Jewish. See ch. 8.

123 For discussion, see *ibid.*, 1:423–34.

124 On the dating of Luke-Acts, see *ibid.*, 1:383–401.

the relative dating of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.¹²⁵ Finally, I assume the narrative unity of Luke-Acts.¹²⁶

7.2 *Literary Mimesis and Historicity*

The main contention of this study is that Luke has “shaped” his narrative under the influence of the OT. This naturally raises the question of historical accuracy. If Luke has shaped his story under the influence of the SKNA, does this mean that he is creating events rather than reporting them? Is he writing, in effect, a work not of history, but of fiction? The answer to all these questions, in short, is no.

The position I adopt on this matter begins with the recognition that there is no truly neutral or objective reportage of human events. All representations are necessarily partial, or perspectival. This applies to both formal and informal attempts to relate reality, including the discipline of historiography. That is, historiography—composing a verbal account of the past—is a necessarily interpretive and creative act. Historians have discretion in the way they represent their subject matter. In other words, historiography, even at its most accurate, is less like a photograph, and more like a portrait.¹²⁷ This is not to say that

125 Although I think it highly likely that Luke was the last Gospel written; that he used Mark as a source; and (with a lower degree of probability) that he was acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew, none of my arguments is based on Lukan posteriority.

126 For good overviews of this issue, including the scholarly debate since the 1990s, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:550–74; Joseph Verheyden, “The Unity of Luke and Acts: One Work, One Author, One Purpose?,” in *Issues in Luke-Acts*, eds. Sean A. Adams and Michael Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2012), 27–50; Joseph Verheyden, “The Unity of Luke-Acts. What Are We Up To?,” in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, BETL 142 (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), 3–56 (particularly on scholarship from the time of Cadbury to the work of Mikeal Parsons and Richard Pervo, who dissent from the view of literary unity); and Michael F. Bird, “The Unity of Luke-Acts in Recent Discussion,” *JSNT* 29 (2007): 425–48 (particularly on the reaction to the work of Parsons and Pervo). For the *unity* view as the scholarly consensus, including a list (by no means exhaustive) of scholars who argue in favor of it, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:551. For the dissenting view, see especially Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 18. See also Parsons’s earlier essay, “The Unity of the Lukan Writings: Rethinking the *Opinio Communis*,” in *With Steadfast Purpose: Essays in Honor of Henry Jackson Flanders*, ed. N. H. Keathly (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1990), 29–53. Other dissenting voices include C. Kavin Rowe and Markus Bockmuehl. Rowe, “History, Hermeneutics and the Unity of Luke-Acts,” *JSNT* 28 (2005): 131–57; Rowe, “Literary Unity and Reception History: Reading Luke-Acts as Luke and Acts,” *JSNT* 29 (2007): 449–57; Bockmuehl, “Why Not Let Acts Be Acts? In Conversation with C. Kavin Rowe,” *JSNT* 28, no. 2 (2005): 163–66.

127 V. Philips Long, *The Art of Biblical History*, vol. 5 of *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 85. I am largely in agreement with

there are no rules, and that one account of what happened in the past is as good as any another; the creative component must be balanced by a desire to relate faithfully what happened. Historiography is “creative yet constrained.”¹²⁸ Thus, the position I adopt herein is that literary crafting and literary mimesis do not impugn historicity or accuracy, because all historiography is necessarily shaped by literary concerns. Just because Luke-Acts is a work of literary art does not mean that it is fictional or historically unreliable.¹²⁹

The idea, then, would be that Luke wished to write an account of the life of Jesus and of the early Church, and in reflecting on these events he noticed certain similarities between them and earlier events that had occurred in Israel's history. Operating within a framework of *promise and fulfillment*, Luke came to understand that the events of the first century were unfolding precisely the way they were, not merely in accordance with the “plan of God” in general, but—more precisely—according to a preexisting pattern laid out in the SKNA. That is, the similarities were providential and predetermined. When, therefore, he undertook to write an account of these events, he chose to use as a model—out of the myriad possibilities available to him—the preexisting pattern found in the OT that he saw actually being recapitulated in the first century. And this implies that it is in the service of historical accuracy, not in opposition to it, that he composes his work the way he does. That is, as W. Ward Gasque puts it, discussing the work of Robert Morgenthau on Lukan parallels, “the parallels were not invented, but were historical ‘givens’ which were selected by Luke for his purposes. The author does not distort the facts to fit his pattern, but he selects those facts which he has at his disposal which lend themselves to this presentation.”¹³⁰ This, at least, is the theory as it concerns Luke-Acts and the SKNA. It remains to be seen if the evidence supports it.

Long's view on the relationship between history and literary crafting as described on pages 58–87. It should be noted, however, that even photography is perspectival—i.e., the camera must be pointed in one direction rather than another.

128 Long, *The Art of Biblical History*, 87. Thus, in affirming that we can know “what happened,” I hold to a realist account of historiography.

129 For a similar conclusion with respect to Luke-Acts, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:133, 1:158–61; and Wright, *NTPG*, 377–78. For Matthew, see Allison, *The New Moses*, 267n321. For the NT overall, see Timo Eskola, *A Narrative Theology of the New Testament: Exploring the Metanarrative of Exile and Restoration*, WUNT 350 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 2–3. For related observations on the relationship between history and theology, see Géza Vermès, *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 19. On the related question of history and *kerygma* in Luke-Acts (with a similar conclusion), see Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, repr. ed., trans. John Boden (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 44, 47.

130 Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 267. See also the similar observations on narrative criticism and historicity in Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?*, 96–98. Keener notes a similar

7.3 *Multiple Purposes and Patterns*

"Few books are ever written with a single purpose in view."¹³¹ The same is true with respect to literary patterns and themes. Although this was already mentioned above with respect to the work of Thomas Brodie, it bears repeating: most authors employ multiple literary patterns and themes to achieve multiple ends. Ancient authors are no exception.

What is true of books in general is certainly true of Luke-Acts in particular. Of all the NT authors, Luke is perhaps the most literarily complex, and it is certainly plausible that he employed several literary patterns simultaneously. I wish therefore to make it clear that I believe the SKNA—as important as it is—is just one prominent pattern for Luke. Many otherwise fine studies on Luke-Acts have foundered at this point, by arguing too strenuously for one overarching pattern or purpose "to rule them all."¹³² I earnestly hope to avoid this error. In particular, by no means would I wish to deny the importance of other portions of Scripture, especially Isaiah, for shaping Luke-Acts' narrative and message. While there is probably a limit, practically speaking, to the number of patterns and aims a writer may have used for any given work, there is room at the table for at least several in Luke-Acts.¹³³

8 Conclusion

Nearly a century ago, Henry Cadbury issued a warning to those who might proffer an argument such as the present one, noting that "the modern efforts to detect a subtle plan in [Luke's] arrangement are doubtless misplaced."¹³⁴ More recently, W. Ward Gasque has similarly admonished that

all too often scholars have chanced upon a brilliant idea which has seemed to them to provide the key to a proper understanding of the Book of Acts, and then have attempted to force all of the evidence into this

approach taken by some Greco-Roman historians (for example, Appian), who likewise incorporated historical parallels with earlier events into their works. As with Luke, divine providence was thought to drive the parallels. Keener, *Acts*, 1:569.

¹³¹ Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 175. He adds, "This statement should be written in bold letters and placed in a prominent position on the desk of any scholar who seeks to write anything on the purpose of Acts." (175n36).

¹³² See the comments along these lines by Richard B. Hays in *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 410n23, 410n24.

¹³³ On multiple purposes for Acts, see also Keener, *Acts*, 1:435–36; and Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 308.

¹³⁴ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 325.

mold of their own making; this attempt to substantiate a strictly speculative thesis has led to some very bizarre exegesis.¹³⁵

These are somber warnings, and I receive them. The theory that Luke used Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as a literary template might seem speculative, at least as an initial hypothesis. Yet, as Gasque himself recognized, speculation—that is, imagination—“has its proper place in critical study.”¹³⁶ Without imagination—without hypotheses—biblical studies, like all studies, would never advance. Hypotheses are an important part of the reasoning process, as we perceive, in a sudden and mysterious way, patterns or connections that have eluded detection before.¹³⁷ We simply could not get on without them.

The solution is not simply to theorize, but to *test* theories with facts—that is, with exegesis: “The real test of all critical hypotheses is whether they can be sustained by careful exegesis, or better, whether they *are the result of* careful exegesis.”¹³⁸ This is what I shall attempt to do in the pages that follow, to test the theory of Luke’s use of the SKNA with exegesis. Thus, I offer this thesis not with “moral certainty,”¹³⁹ but humbly submitted as an inference to the best explanation.

135 Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 307.

136 Ibid., 308.

137 Cf. Aristotle’s “quick wit” (ἄγχινοια); *An. post.* 1.34.

138 Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 308; emphasis original. It is not necessary, however, to always *begin* with exegesis. This is simply not how much of our reasoning works. Sometimes, we must start with the theory.

139 Ibid., 308.

Luke's Literary Environment: Second Temple Judaism

The blessings which came ... in the days of Solomon the son of David,
and also the curses which came in the days of Jeroboam son of Nebat
and until the exile of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah, king of Judah.

4QMMT^e



We noted in chapter 1 that Luke writes at the intersection of two worlds: that of the OT and Second Temple Judaism, on the one hand, and that of Greco-Roman culture and literature, on the other. This chapter and the next will examine these two worlds in turn. The purpose of the present chapter is to take a closer look at the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles as a preparation for studying their use in Luke-Acts. We will briefly consider their contents, structure, and themes. We will also review the use of this OT material in some of the literature from the Second Temple period. The tasks undertaken here are crucial for establishing a prior probability for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary model, for we will see not only that there is warrant for reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together as a literary unity, as I argue Luke would have done, but moreover, at certain specific points, there are remarkable resonances between the SKNA and Luke's two-part work.¹ We begin, however, with the more fundamental question of establishing a likely Greek text of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles that Luke would have had access to while writing Luke-Acts.

1 Luke's Text of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles

Luke's explicit scriptural citations indicate that his interaction with the OT was largely, if not wholly, in Greek, rather than in Hebrew. In this section I attempt

¹ The language of "prior probability," here and elsewhere, explicitly refers to Bayes' Theorem, which is a crucial component of the methodology I outlined in ch. 1.

to establish Luke's likely Greek text for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.² Before considering this question, however, I begin with a few observations on the Hebrew and Greek texts of these books prior to Luke's day.

1.1 *Samuel-Kings: Hebrew and Greek Text*

Text-critical issues pertaining to Samuel and Kings are among the most intractable to be encountered for both Hebrew and Greek.³ In both languages there is great variety among the textual witnesses, as well as much interpenetration between them, making reconstruction of the original text a daunting (if not Quixotic) enterprise. There are also at least three distinct textual traditions in each language.⁴ Here I simply note the complexity, since the aim is not to recover the original texts, but rather to determine the Greek form in which Luke likely would have encountered them.

To begin with, two features of the Greek text of Samuel-Kings that are relevant to Luke's exposure to it are the division of the books and the titles. Both Samuel and Kings, although single books in Hebrew, were divided into two when translated into Greek, thus resulting in the four books of 1–4 Kingdoms (or 1–4 Reigns).⁵ The placement of the break between 1 and 2 Samuel is likely

2 As mentioned in ch. 1, I have chosen to refer to the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles by their traditional names in the English Bible throughout this study. This is done largely for reasons of euphony, but also for consistency: while using the names in the Greek OT would be more accurate where Luke is concerned, doing so would be less accurate when discussing these books in other contexts (such as within Second Temple Jewish literature, much of which relies on the Hebrew tradition).

3 For general discussions of text-critical issues related to Samuel and Kings, see P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *1 Samuel*, AB 8 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 5–11; Simon J. DeVries, *1 Kings*, 2nd ed., WBC 12 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003), lii–lvii; and Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 171–80.

4 On the three textual traditions for Hebrew Samuel and Kings, see Ariel Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, BZAW 469 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 6–7. For Greek, see Philippe Hugo, “1–2 Kingdoms (1–2 Samuel),” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 130–31, 133. The three Greek traditions are: the OG (Old Greek), presumably standing behind much of Codex Vaticanus (LXX^B; excepting the *Kaige* portions); the tradition represented by the *Kaige* portions of Samuel and Kings found in LXX^B (2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 22:1–2 Kgs 25:30); and the tradition preserved in the Antiochene Lucianic text. In addition, there is also evidence of much recensional activity, noted especially with respect to the Antiochene text. For more on the Greek text of 1–4 Kingdoms, see Sigfried Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*, SCS 63 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 154–74.

5 The division of the books was likely due to scroll length, the Greek requiring more words than the Hebrew. Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings*, AB 10 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 2000), 84n1; Leslie C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of 1 and 11 Chronicles to the Massoretic Text*, VTSup 25, 27, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 1:102. In the medieval period Hebrew manuscripts began to follow the Greek tradition of dividing Samuel and Kings.

due to the custom of ending a book with the death of a major figure (Saul), while the break between 1 and 2 Kings is more arbitrary.⁶ The Old Greek translators also likely created the titles Α–Δ Βασιλειῶν (1–4 Kingdoms).⁷ The assignment of these titles was, among other things, an interpretive decision. It indicated that, whatever the compositional history of these books (including their possible place in the Deuteronomistic History), the LXX translators felt that they possessed an internal coherence strong enough to warrant distinct treatment from the other books that narrate Israel's history.⁸ Luke would have known Samuel-Kings as a unified work in four parts. I will return to Samuel-Kings after discussing the text of Chronicles.

1.2 *Chronicles: Hebrew and Greek Text*

There are far fewer significant textual issues for Chronicles compared to Samuel-Kings.⁹ Establishing the Hebrew text poses no major problems. As for the Greek, LXX^B as well as the minuscule c₂ are the best and oldest witnesses.¹⁰ As in the case of Samuel-Kings, it was the LXX translators who both divided the original single Hebrew book into two and gave it a new name: Παραλειπομένων—that is, “[Of] The Things Left Out” of Samuel-Kings.¹¹

1.3 *Establishing Luke's Text*

Whatever the textual history of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the chief concern for this study is to determine the nature of the Greek text that Luke would

6 On Samuel, see Hugo, “1–2 Kingdoms,” 128. On Kings, see DeVries, *1 Kings*, xix.

7 Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (New York: Ktav, 1968), 215.

8 Another fascinating and complicated question which cannot be addressed here is whether the label “Samuel-Kings,” suggestive as it is of an original literary unity between the two books, accurately reflects the books’ original composition. In short, it likely does. On the literary relationship between Samuel and Kings, see Jürg Hutzli, “The Literary Relationship between 1–11 Samuel and 1–11 Kings: Considerations Concerning the Formation of the Two Books,” *ZAW* 122, no. 4 (2010): 505–19. Certainly the author of Chronicles, who based his work predominantly on Samuel and Kings, recognized their literary unity.

9 On the text of Chronicles, see Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 26–28. On the Greek text, see Allen, *The Greek Chronicles*.

10 Allen, *The Greek Chronicles*, 1:101–6, 1:142. The MS c₂ is unreliable for the last six chapters of 2 Chronicles. LXX^A shows revision toward the MT. There are no *Kaige* sections of Chronicles. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 27–28.

11 Roger Good, “1–2 Chronicles (1–2 *Paraleipomena*),” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 168. The title is generally rendered as *Paraleipomena* in scholarly literature. The Hebrew name is ספר דברי הימים (“The Book of the Events of the Days”).

have had access to and preferred to use as he was composing Luke-Acts.¹² It turns out that this is an extraordinarily difficult task, both because of the lack of direct citations from these books in Luke-Acts, as well as the vexed nature of Septuagint studies where the text of Samuel-Kings is concerned. Nevertheless, it is possible to make an inference based on the available data.

The starting point is the observation that Luke, when he cites the OT, generally exhibits a preference for the text preserved in Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A).¹³ Although this text is uneven, in the portions of the Greek Bible that Luke explicitly cites it tends to preserve readings from the so-called Alexandrian group of texts.¹⁴ From this we can tentatively conclude that Luke, where he can be checked, generally prefers readings from the Alexandrian group. We can then cautiously infer that, where he cannot be carefully checked (Samuel-Kings, and Chronicles), he also prefers readings from this same group. The question therefore becomes, Which text(s) best preserves Alexandrian readings for Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles?

This turns out *not* to be LXX^A. In the case of Chronicles, LXX^B, not LXX^A, on the whole better preserves Alexandrian readings.¹⁵ This implies that LXX^B can thus be used cautiously as a base text for Chronicles. For Samuel-Kings the situation is far more complex. To begin with, LXX^A is considered to be unreliable because of Hexaplaric influence. LXX^B, however, contains the non-Alexandrian *Kaige* sections of Samuel-Kings (2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11; 1 Kgs 22:1–2 Kgs 25:30), and thus it cannot be relied upon as a witness to the Alexandrian group in

12 For this section I am indebted to William A. Ross, PhD for invaluable input and assistance.

13 Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," 95–96; Holtz, *Untersuchungen*, 166–69. In both Luke and Acts, Luke rarely opts for the reading preserved in LXX^B over LXX^A. Amos 9:12 in Acts 15:17 and some of Luke's Psalms citations are exceptions. *Ibid.*, 49, 58–59.

14 The label "Alexandrian" is problematic. On the Alexandrian group of texts, see Joseph Ziegler, ed, *Isaias*, Septuaginta 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), 21–36; Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetiae*, Septuaginta 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943), 39–53; and Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 242–46. This group includes, for the latter prophets, the MSS A, Q, 26, 86, 106, 198, and 233, and contains old readings of "relative purity." Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 142; cf. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 326. On the Alexandrian character of LXX^A in Isaiah, see Ziegler, ed, *Septuaginta*, 22. For the Minor Prophets, see Ziegler, ed, *Septuaginta*, 30, 40. On the general unevenness of LXX^A, see Swete, *Introduction to the OT*, 489–90. While "Alexandrian" suggests Egyptian provenance, this is neither assumed nor necessary; it is simply a label for the group of texts. I leave the fidelity of this group to the Old Greek an open question.

15 Allen, while not using the term "Alexandrian," confirms the priority and relative purity of the group of texts to which LXX^B belongs (notwithstanding revisions), also noting a connection to Egypt in the second century BC. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles*, 1:142, 2:168. The minuscule c₂ also preserves this text form with the exception of 2 Chr 31–36.

these sections.¹⁶ Despite these difficulties, a way forward is possible. For the non-*Kaige* portions (1 Sam 1:1–2 Sam 11:1; 1 Kgs 2:12–21:43), most scholars agree that LXX^B reflects the Alexandrian group, and thus we can reasonably consult this as a baseline text in these sections. As for the *Kaige* portions, Alexandrian readings are likely preserved best in the Antiochene text (or LXX^L, found in the minuscules *boc₂e₂*).¹⁷ Thus, to summarize:

- Luke most likely relied on texts containing Alexandrian readings for Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, just as he did for the portions of the OT which he cites explicitly.
- For the non-*Kaige* portions of Samuel and Kings, this group is best preserved in LXX^B.
- For the *Kaige* portions this group is best preserved in LXX^L (= *boc₂e₂*).
- For Chronicles this group is best preserved in LXX^B.

This means that if we wish to approximate Luke's likely text of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, we can, with caution, consult LXX^B for Chronicles and the non-*Kaige* portions of Samuel–Kings, and LXX^L (*boc₂e₂*) for the *Kaige* portions, taking account of exceptions and variants as needed.¹⁸ Even if this inference is incorrect, and Luke's text were other than I propose, any differences would likely be minor and therefore would not affect the conclusions in this study.¹⁹

16 For discussion of the *Kaige* recension, see Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek*, 161–64; and Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 186–87, 320–24.

17 Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms," 148–49; Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek*, 170–71. This conclusion is contested, however. See the discussion in Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 316–20, 321n44.

18 Based on this conclusion, I consulted the following critical texts: for non-*Kaige* portions of Samuel–Kings, Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds, *The Later Historical Books: 1 and 11 Samuel*, The Old Testament in Greek 2.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927); Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds, *The Later Historical Books: 1 and 11 Kings*, The Old Testament in Greek 2.2: (Cambridge, 1930). For *Kaige* portions, Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El texto Antioqueno de la biblia Griega*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Filología, 1989). For 1 Chronicles, Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds, *1 and 11 Chronicles*, The Old Testament in Greek 2.3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932). For 2 Chronicles, Robert Hanhart, ed, *Paralipomenon liber II*, Septuaginta 8.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014). For the purposes of approximating a synoptic reading of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, I also consulted Primo Vannutelli, *Libri Synoptici Veteris Testamenti: seu Librorum Regum et Chronicorum loci paralleli*, 2 vols. (Rome: E Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1931–34); and James D. Newsome, Jr., ed, *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles With Related Passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986).

19 I have attempted to confirm this conclusion concerning Luke's preference for Alexandrian readings by examining the strongest allusions to Samuel–Kings and Chronicles in Luke–Acts. The data, however, is unfortunately inconclusive; for the relevant texts there are no

We next consider the contents, structure, and themes of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as a preparation for revisiting the concept of the Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc (SKNA) that was introduced in chapter 1.

2 Samuel-Kings: Contents, Structure, Themes

2.1 *Contents and Structure*

In brief, Samuel-Kings concerns “the rise and fall of the monarchy in Israel.”²⁰ The Book of Samuel begins with the birth of Samuel to an infertile woman, and then recounts the people’s desire for king and its initial fulfillment in the person of King Saul. The focus throughout 1–2 Samuel, however, is squarely on David, including his rise to the throne, God’s covenant (2 Sam 7), and his long and storied reign.

The Book of Kings opens with the succession to Solomon and the short-lived splendor of his kingdom, including the construction and dedication of the temple. All that David and Solomon had achieved, however, quickly devolves

significant differences among the witnesses mentioned here. For discussion of some of these allusions, see ch. 4.

- 20 J. G. McConville, “Kings, Book of,” *DO THB*, 625. On the compositional history of Samuel, see David G. Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, ApOTC 8 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009), 22–26; and McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 12–30. For Kings, see DeVries, *1 Kings*, xxxviii–xlix; and Cogan, *1 Kings*, 88–100. Issues of composition are complicated by the use of sources, which is a strong inference for Samuel and plainly indicated by the text of Kings. Many scholars, following Martin Noth, believe that the material now known as Samuel and Kings was composed by a single author as part of the Deuteronomistic History (DH), a long exilic work stretching from Deuteronomy (or Joshua) to 2 Kings. See Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981). On the history and status of the DH, see A. Graeme Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld*, SOTSMS (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 16–25; and S. L. Richter, “Deuteronomistic History,” *DO THB*, 219–30. Others believe that several redactions or editions of this work were produced, whether before, during, or after the exile. This option has several variants, including the “double redaction” hypothesis of F. M. Cross, the “Deuteronomistic School” proposed by Moshe Weinfeld, and the proposal of R. Smend, who argues for several post-exilic editions. One other approach, more common for Samuel than for Kings, and operating from a literary-critical perspective, argues for a single “creative author” who incorporated earlier material into a final, well-structured whole. This approach is particularly associated with the work of J. P. Fokkelman. *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analyses*, 4 vols. (Assen: van Gorcum, 1981–1993). See also Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold*, 21–22; and Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 24, 26. Regardless of the proper solution to questions of composition and authorship, in the Second Temple Period Samuel and Kings were each considered to be unified works.

into sin, ruin, and ultimately exile through a sad succession of mostly ungodly rulers. David's example, faithful for the most part, is followed two generations later by the rebellion of Jeroboam, leading to the nation's irreparable physical and spiritual fracture. From this point on, the narrative shifts back and forth, now focusing on Israel, now on Judah, until first one, and then the other, is carried off to exile (the ministries of Elijah and Elisha notwithstanding). Although it is true that Hezekiah and Josiah in particular stand out as godly kings in contrast to the rest, this positive portrayal is attenuated by the parallel portrayal of these kings in Chronicles, as I will point out below. In any case, Samuel-Kings ends on an uncertain note, with Jehoiachin, a Judahite king, in exile at the end of the earth (Deut 28:49), granted a degree of liberty-in-captivity by the king of Babylon.

Two prominent structural features of the Book of Kings point toward a parallel with the Book of Acts. The first is the succession of kings, which is the most obvious structural feature throughout the bulk of the narrative. Whether alternating between Israel and Judah, or focusing on Judah alone, the Book of Kings is driven along by largely sequential and segmented accounts of the lives, deeds, and deaths of the nations' leaders.

The second is a feature—or rather, a trio of them—brought to attention by Martin Noth. Noth pointed out that Samuel-Kings (as part of the DH) is structured in part by speeches, prayers, and summaries: “At all the important points in the course of the history, [the Deuteronomist] brings forward the leading personages with a speech, long or short, which looks forward and backward in an attempt to interpret the course of events, and draws the relevant practical conclusions about what people should do.”²¹ As for summaries, these are broad editorial comments inserted by the author of the DH, revealing his perspective on the events narrated. The comments following the fall of Israel in 2 Kgs 17:7–23 are an example of this feature in Samuel-Kings.²² Whether or not Noth's theory of the DH is correct, it is clear that these features are central to the structure of Samuel-Kings.

I pause here to emphasize the significance of these observations for our study of Acts. Although I will explain and develop this point in chapter 6, for now I point out that SKNA 2 and Acts are both structured around successive

21 Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 5. Noth notes two speeches of this type in Samuel-Kings: Samuel's speech in 1 Sam 12, and Solomon's speech and prayer of dedication in 1 Kgs 8:14–53. *Ibid.*, 5–6. While Noth claimed that these features are unique to the DH, they also occur in Chronicles as well. See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 19–20. See also ch. 6.

22 Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 6.

accounts of kingdom agents, with speeches, prayers, and summaries also used as key structural markers.²³

2.2 Themes of Relevance to Luke-Acts

Following are some prominent themes of Samuel-Kings.

*Yahweh's Reign and Rule.*²⁴ Throughout Samuel-Kings, Yahweh is portrayed as the sovereign Lord and the true King who reigns over Israel and the nations (1 Sam 1:3; 2:6–10; 4:4; 5:1–6:21; 7:13; 8:7; 10:24; 12:12; 2 Sam 23:3; 1 Kgs 5:5). It is in his name and by his authority that the human kings are appointed and rule. God's sovereign control extends even to the exile (2 Kgs 17:7–23; 20:17–18; 23:27).

*Human Kingship, especially David.*²⁵ “Overall,” as Tremper Longman and Raymond Dillard observe, the Book of Samuel is “the story of how David gains the throne, loses it temporarily in the face of rebellions, only to regain it again, and then lose it in death.”²⁶ David's influence extends throughout the book of Kings as well, as king after king is judged by their fidelity to his example (1 Kgs 11:4–8; 15:3; 2 Kgs 14:1; 16:1; 18:1; 22:2, etc.). David's reign and rule, and that of his successors, is intimately linked to the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7:8–16), the essence of which is an enduring dynasty and an everlasting kingdom centered in Jerusalem.²⁷

*Jerusalem and Temple.*²⁸ The importance of Jerusalem and the temple first emerges in Samuel. The construction and dedication of the temple under Solomon is the main focus at the beginning of 1 Kings (5:1–8:66), while the related theme of true and false worship continues through the end of 2 Kings.²⁹

23 A third point of structural similarity, mentioned below and developed in ch. 6, is the use of geography.

24 Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 42–43; David Toshio Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 69–70; McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 630–31.

25 On this theme in Samuel, see Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 43–45; and B. T. Arnold, “Samuel, Books of,” *DOTHB*, 872–74. For Kings, see McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 625; and Tremper Longman III and Raymond B. Dillard, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 181–82, 185.

26 Ibid., 160. See the similar comments by Tsumura in *The First Book of Samuel*, 73.

27 Although there is no explicit mention of the word *covenant* (בְּרִית) in 2 Sam 7, later biblical testimony makes it clear that a covenant is instituted between God and David here (cf. 2 Sam 23:5; 2 Chr 13:5; 21:7; Ps 89:3; Jer 33:21).

28 On the temple in Samuel-Kings, see Steven J. Schweitzer, “The Temple in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles,” in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes*, eds. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 125–31. On Jerusalem, see Arnold, “Samuel, Books of,” 869; and McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 628.

29 DeVries, *1 Kings*, xxvi; McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 625.

*Prophets and Prophecy.*³⁰ As with *temple*, the themes of *prophets* and *prophecy* are introduced in Samuel. In Kings they are seen in full flower, seen most especially in the ministries of Elijah and Elisha. Furthermore, 2 Kgs 17 and 25 describe the downfall of Israel and Judah, respectively, in terms of the fulfillment of prophecies spoken at an earlier point in Israel's history (see Deut 28:15–68).³¹ Moreover, it should be remembered that the entirety of Samuel-Kings, in the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible, is counted among *the Prophets* (נְבִיאִים).³²

God's Response in Mercy and Judgment. In both Samuel and Kings, God's response to human actions, whether for weal or woe, is emphasized again and again.³³ As with some other themes, this too is seen more clearly in Kings. While there are some examples of God responding positively to obedience (e.g., 2 Sam 24:25; 2 Kgs 19:20; 20:5), most of the time we see the reverse, with “the complex structure of the book of Kings,” as McConville notes, amply demonstrating “the failure of kings and people to take the covenantal opportunity offered of old to David.”³⁴ The ultimate example of this is the exile of Israel and of Judah (2 Kgs 17:7–23; 20:17–18; 23:27).³⁵

*Theological Geography.*³⁶ Samuel-Kings emphasizes geographical locations and features in the service of theological ends. This especially concerns the importance of Jerusalem as the city of David, Samaria as a symbol for idolatry, and foreign lands (especially Babylon) as indicators of divine displeasure and the dissolution of the kingdom. I will present support for this theme in chapter 6.

30 For Samuel, see Arnold, “Samuel, Books of,” 875–76; and Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 45–58. For Kings, see McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 625. For comparisons with the DH and Chronicles on this point, see Ehud Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There? How Wide Was the Conceptual Gap between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles?,” in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography*, eds. Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 68–70.

31 On the parallel theme of *promise and fulfillment* in Luke-Acts, see ch. 6.

32 See, e.g., Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.40. Josephus likely also considered the Chronicler to be a prophet. Isaac Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition and Literature: A Historical Journey* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 102–4.

33 For Samuel, see Arnold, “Samuel, Books of,” 870, 874–75; and Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 71–73. For Kings, see DeVries, *1 Kings*, xxvii. For a comparison with Chronicles, see Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 63–68.

34 McConville, “Kings, Book of,” 629. This theology of reward and punishment should not be construed mechanistically; there are exceptions to the pattern. *Ibid.*, 629.

35 For “retribution theology” in Chronicles, see below. For Luke-Acts, see ch. 6.

36 This theme is not reflected in the commentaries. On the importance of Israel, Jerusalem, and geography in both the DH and Chronicles, see Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 76–79.

Although a full analysis of the relevance of these themes for Luke-Acts awaits further investigation throughout this study, even cursory reflection may reveal an obvious resonance.

3 Chronicles: Contents, Structure, Themes

3.1 *Contents and Structure*

Despite some differences, there is obvious similarity in content and structure between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings.³⁷ The Chronicler's narrative proper begins in 1 Chr 10 with the death of Saul (cf. 1 Sam 31), concludes with Judah in Babylonian exile in 2 Chr 36 (cf. 2 Kgs 25), and follows the progression of kings in between, with extra attention given to David and Solomon.³⁸ Apart from the genealogies in 1 Chr 1–9, no historical material from any other books of the OT is included. Furthermore, as in Kings, the succession of kings serves as the main structural feature in 2 Chronicles, with speeches, prayers, and summaries contributing as well.³⁹ As for the genealogies, these provide, in the form of a well-established Ancient Near Eastern genre, an overview of Israel's history stretching back to Adam and reaching down to the author's present day. I note here that the only other biblical book that shares this feature is the Gospel of Luke.⁴⁰

Beyond mere similarity in content, however, there are also clear-cut verbal links to Samuel-Kings, as well as evidence that the writer of Chronicles assumes knowledge of material from that work not included in his text. This evidence has led the vast majority of scholars to conclude that the main source for Chronicles is Samuel-Kings.⁴¹ It was the Chronicler's intention to relate

37 As with Samuel-Kings, there is some uncertainty regarding the composition and authorship of Chronicles, although as with Samuel-Kings these issues are irrelevant when considering the reception of the book in Luke's day. For convenience, the author (or authors) can be referred to as "the Chronicler."

38 Two prominent differences, other than the genealogies, are that Chronicles focuses on Judah at the expense of Israel, and records Cyrus's decree to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem at the end of the work (2 Chr 36:22–23).

39 For a detailed comparison of the events related in Samuel-Kings with those in Chronicles, see Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 32–37. On speeches, prayers, and summaries in Chronicles, see ch. 6.

40 On the genealogies and their function, see *ibid.*, 20–23. On Luke's genealogy, see ch. 4.

41 This conclusion is not uncontested. A. Graeme Auld in particular has argued that the *Vorlage* for Chronicles is not Samuel-Kings, but rather a common source underlying both works. A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); A. Graeme Auld, "What Was the Main Source of

substantially the same course of events as Samuel-Kings, albeit with a different purpose and *Tendenz*. We will explore the relationship between the two works further below.

Finally, since we are ultimately concerned with the form of Chronicles in the LXX, I also mention here the division between 1 and 2 Chronicles, which occurs at the death of David. This division has an important implication for this study, because it casts into sharper relief the differences between part 1 and part 2 of the work. That is, for a later writer (such as Luke) interacting with the Greek version of Chronicles, part 1 would seem to place greater focus on a single individual (David), including his preparations for royal succession and the building of the temple at the book's conclusion, while part 2 would begin with a focus on the temple and the king's successor, and thereafter would read more annalistically, shifting attention from one king to another. The structural parallels with Luke-Acts on these points will be explored in subsequent chapters.

3.2 *Themes of Relevance to Luke-Acts*

Chronicles shares many themes in common with Samuel-Kings, although some of them are featured more prominently or presented in a different light.

*David and Kings.*⁴² As with Samuel-Kings, David and the nature and quality of the monarchy occupy a great deal of attention in Chronicles. By beginning the narrative with the son of Jesse, the Chronicler emphasizes his extraordinary importance for the nation and for his own theological project. Compared to the portrait in Samuel, however, the Chronicler's is far more positive: David's failures (such as the incident with Bathsheba) are omitted or downplayed (1 Chr 20:1–3; cf. 2 Sam 11:1–12:31). Solomon, too, is somewhat idealized (2 Chr 2:1, 12; 8:1; cf. 1 Kgs 6:38–7:1). Conversely, a point not often recognized is that Hezekiah and Josiah, although obviously godly exceptions to the ungodly rule in Chronicles, are nevertheless presented in slightly more negative terms compared to Kings.⁴³ If it is true, as argued herein, that a Second Temple period

the Books of Chronicles?," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, eds. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 91–99. For detailed discussion, including response to Auld and defense of the consensus position, see Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 30–37.

42 See Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 308–83; Eugene H. Merrill, "The Theology of the 'Chronicler': What Difference Does it Make?," *JETS* 59, no. 4 (2016): 692–94; and Ben Zvi, "Are There Any Bridges Out There?," 70–75.

43 For example, although Hezekiah and Josiah are each noted for their תִּצְדִּיק in Chronicles (2 Chr 32:32; 35:26; cf. LXX ἔλαος [32:32]; ἐλπίς [35:26]), nevertheless 2 Chr 32:25–26 (not found in Kings) points out Hezekiah's pride after his miraculous healing. Likewise,

author such as Luke would have read Samuel-Kings in concert with Chronicles, Hezekiah and Josiah would simply not have appeared as unqualified exceptions to the overall negative pattern (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.25, 75–77).

The Davidic covenant also undergoes some modification in Chronicles. Whereas the conditionality or unconditionality of the covenant is an open question for Samuel-Kings, unconditionality is stressed in Chronicles (see, e.g., 1 Chr 17:14, 27b; cf. 2 Sam 7:16, 29b).⁴⁴

*Kingdom.*⁴⁵ The expression “the kingdom of Yahweh” (מְלִכּוּת יְהוָה; βασιλεία κυρίου) occurs twice in the book (1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 13:8), perhaps its first verbal expression Jewish thought. The importance of the *kingdom* theme for the Chronicler is indicated by the fact that it forms an *inclusio* for the entire book of 2 Chronicles: 2 Chr 1:1 describes Solomon son of David being “strengthened in his kingdom” (ἐνίσχυσεν Σαλωμων υἱὸς Δαυιδ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ), while 2 Chr 36:23, in an ironic reversal, recounts the decree of Cyrus, to whom God has given “all the kingdoms of the earth” (πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς γῆς). I note that this same feature—the theme of kingdom as an *inclusio*—is also found in the Book of Acts (1:3; 28:31). My argument in this study involves seeing Acts as corresponding to SKNA 2 (including 2 Chronicles). The fact that 2 Chronicles and Acts are structured in part by the same *inclusio* is evidence that this view is correct.⁴⁶

The kingdom theme is closely related to the previous theme of human kingship. As in Samuel-Kings, the kings in Chronicles reign in the name and authority of Yahweh: the kingdom of David is identified with the kingdom of God. In the case of Chronicles, however, this Davidic connection is amplified, as the Chronicler subtly but significantly underscores the connection between Yahweh’s kingdom and David’s.⁴⁷ As Sara Japhet summarizes, “the book of Chronicles regards Israelite monarchy as nothing less than the ‘the kingship of YHWH over Israel’; YHWH’s kingship is realized by means of a monarch who rules over the people.”⁴⁸

2 Chr 35:20–24 mentions Josiah’s folly in fighting king Neco of Egypt (not found in Kings), and, tellingly, omits the paean to his character found in 2 Kgs 23:24–27.

44 Merrill, “The Theology of the ‘Chronicler,’” 697; Long, *The Art of Biblical History*, 83.

45 M. J. Selman, “The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament,” *TynBul* 40, no. 2 (1989): 163–71.

46 This point is developed in chs. 4 and 7.

47 E.g., in Nathan’s prophecy concerning Solomon’s reign Yahweh promises to establish him “in my house and in my kingdom forever” (1 Chr 17:14; cf. 2 Sam 7:13). See Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 308–20; and Selman, “Kingdom of God,” 167–71, 179.

48 Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 320.

*Temple and Worship.*⁴⁹ Much as with the previous themes, the themes of *temple* and *worship*, present in Samuel-Kings, are augmented significantly in Chronicles. The Chronicler devotes much space to the details of the temple cult and those who participate in it (1 Chr 6:1–81; 23:1–26:32; 2 Chr 2:4–6; 13:10–11; 29:20–35).⁵⁰ The same goes for the construction and dedication of the temple in 2 Chronicles. After the narrative shifts to the successive kings in 2 Chr 10–36, the author repeatedly brings attention back to matters of the cult (e.g., 2 Chr 13:8–12; 29:3–36; 31:21). Moreover, the themes of temple and worship are closely related to the themes of David, kings, and kingdom.⁵¹

*Israel and Theological Geography.*⁵² Despite the lack of attention in Chronicles on the northern kingdom, the question “Who is Israel?” is a major concern of the author, expressed not only through the genealogies but also in statements and language found throughout the book. The phrase “all Israel” (כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל/πᾶς Ἰσραηλ) is particularly prominent, occurring forty-six times. Furthermore, Chronicles, much like Samuel-Kings, has a strong sense of geography in the service of theological ends. In Chronicles the role of Jerusalem as the center of David’s and Yahweh’s kingdom is heightened considerably compared to Samuel-Kings.⁵³ We will examine this more closely in chapter 6.

Reward and Retribution. Much has been written on the “retribution theology” of the Chronicler.⁵⁴ While this theme is also present in Samuel-Kings, in

49 Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1986), xxix–xxxii; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 156–208; Merrill, “The Theology of the ‘Chronicler,’” 692, 698–700.

50 Isaac Kalimi estimates that almost 50 percent of Chronicles is related to the theme of temple. Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing*, ssN (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 137.

51 Selman, “Kingdom of God,” 170, 179; Jozef Tiño, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to their Relations*, FRLANT 234 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010). On the connection between David and temple, see especially Peter R. Ackroyd, “History and Theology in the Writings of the Chronicler,” *CTM* 38, no. 1 (January 1967): 513.

52 On the theme of Israel, see Braun, *1 Chronicles*, xxxv–xxxvii; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 209–307; and Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 76–78. Theological geography is my own contribution, though see Ron Bruner, “Harmony and Historiography: Genre as a Tool for Understanding the Differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles,” *RQ* 46, no. 2 (2004): 89–90.

53 On the importance of Jerusalem in Chronicles (with implications for Samuel-Kings as well), see Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 125–39; and Pancratius C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, ssN (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 115–27.

54 See the *Forschungsgeschichte* in Brian Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 211 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 29–45. See also Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 117–55; Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 63–68; and Raymond B. Dillard, “Reward and Punishment in Chronicles: The Theology of Immediate Retribution,” *WTJ* 46 (1984): 164–72.

Chronicles it is expressed differently. Whereas in Samuel-Kings guilt (and God's judgment) is accumulated, in Chronicles it is much more episodic, immediate, and localized to the individual king or situation.⁵⁵ There are also exceptions to the pattern.⁵⁶

Eschatological hope. Chronicles expresses a subtle sense of eschatological hope.⁵⁷ This can be inferred from the Chronicler's interest in "all Israel" (including the northern tribes), from prayers and hopes for restoration after exile (e.g., 1 Chr 16:35; 2 Chr 30:6–9), from Cyrus's decree of restoration, and from the idealization of David, including the hope (muted thought it may be) of a continued Davidic line.

As with Samuel-Kings, the relevance of these themes for Luke-Acts, while perhaps apparent even at first glance, will be unpacked throughout the study.

3.3 *Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: Interpretive Comparison*

The relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles has been mentioned in several places above. Here these observations are brought together with a few additional comments. The prominent similarities between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings include the following:

1. There is a literary relationship between the two works: the Chronicler uses Samuel-Kings as his primary source.
2. The basic content is similar. Both relate the careers of David and Solomon, the building of the temple, the progression of kings down to the exile, and the beginning of the exile.
3. The structure of both works is similar, especially in the LXX. While much of 1 Samuel has no counterpart in 1 Chronicles, 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles 9–29 are largely about David, and both conclude at or near the end of his life. As for Kings, the first part of both 1 Kings and

55 See, e.g., 2 Chr 13:1–20, 21:16–20; 28:19; cf. 1 Kgs 15:1–8; 8:25–29; 16:1–20. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 46–47. Brian E. Kelly has further argued that retribution has a different function in Chronicles: it serves to emphasize Yahweh's grace and faithfulness. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, 236–37. Ben Zvi's nuanced discussion is helpful. Ben Zvi, "Are There Any Bridges Out There?," 63–67.

56 For example, although David failed with respect to bringing the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 13), nevertheless God blesses David (1 Chr 14). Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, 108.

57 Von Rad, among others, was a major proponent of this view. Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, BWANT 54 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930), 119–32; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1962–65), 1:350–51. See also Merrill, "The Theology of the 'Chronicler,'" 691–700. For a contrary view, see Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 384–93; and H. G. M. Williamson, "Eschatology in Chronicles," *TynBul* 28 (1977): 115–54.

2 Chronicles narrate the succession from David to Solomon, and the building and dedication of the temple. After the division of the kingdom, the bulk of 1–2 Kings and 2 Chronicles concerns the progression of kings in Israel and Judah. Both works end in the same place: Babylon, narrating events during or just after the exile.

4. The key themes of both works are similar.

The main differences between the two works include the following:

1. Structurally, Chronicles is condensed compared to Samuel-Kings. In Hebrew, two books become one. In the LXX, four books become two. It is interesting to note that the LXX of Chronicles preserves the original bifid character of Hebrew Samuel-Kings, with the first part largely about David, and the second part largely about the temple and the kings.
2. Concerning content, the Greek title of Chronicles, Παραλειπομένων (“the things left out”), is not, strictly speaking, accurate. While Chronicles does contain some significant material omitted from Samuel-Kings, by far what it presents is instead a different perspective on the same events.⁵⁸
3. Although the themes of both works are similar, they are generally either amplified (*kingdom*, *temple*, and *Israel*), or altered in some way (*David* and *retribution*) in Chronicles.
4. Compared to Samuel-Kings, Chronicles contains more speeches, prayers, and psalms. This point will be relevant to the discussion of Second Temple Jewish literature below, as well as in the study of speeches, prayers, and summaries in Acts in chapter 6.
5. Chronicles has a sense of future hope which is lacking in Samuel-Kings, centered on the possibility of a restored Israel, temple, and (possibly) a Davidic king.

These points lead to an observation concerning the Chronicler's overall theological project: the book of Chronicles is an *interpretive retelling* of Samuel-Kings. Far from being a wooden repetition of the earlier work, it is rather a re-presentation of the same story, tailored to fit the needs of a later generation.

Although the use of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts awaits investigation in the following chapters, I pause to consider briefly the effect that the existence of two parallel versions of essentially the same events might have had on a careful reader of the OT in the first century, especially one (such as Luke) living in a milieu steeped in eschatological expectation. If Chronicles contains a subtle note of eschatological hope, then it suggests, when compared side-by-side with Samuel-Kings, the idea that *earlier events might mean more*

58 Klein, 1 *Chronicles*, 1. The later Hebrew title—“The Book of the Events of the Days” (ספר הימים דברי)—is more neutral.

than meet the eye. David and the covenant; the temple; Israel: all, in the mind of the Chronicler, took on heightened significance in light of later historical events, significance not even completely realized in the Chronicler's own day. This means that, to a reader already thinking along similar lines, Chronicles might, in fact, suggest an *eschatological trajectory* which, escalated as it may be in Chronicles, yet awaited a more complete fulfillment in the future.⁵⁹

4 The SKNA, Revisited

In chapter 1 I introduced the concept of the *Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc* (SKNA), which represents the fundamental plotline common to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. I believe the comparison of the two works presented above demonstrates that this is a viable concept. While there are considerable differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the two nevertheless share a single storyline marked by similarities in *structure*, *contents*, and *shape*. Concerning structure and contents, both are essentially two-part stories featuring David as the key figure of part 1, and the temple and succession of kings as the key features of part 2. As for the shape, part 1 is marked by an "ascent" to the heights of David and Solomon, while part 2 is about an inexorable "descent" to the darkness of exile.⁶⁰ Finally, I note that this narrative arc in turn plugs into the overall plotline of the OT, adding to the sense of "a story in search of a conclusion" with an eschatological focus which some have noted.⁶¹

59 It seems to me that this point applies whether Chronicles was known by Luke to be the last book in the OT "canon," as in the Hebrew tradition, or whether it came immediately after 1–4 Kingdoms, as in the Greek tradition. On the interpretive significance of the order of the OT canon, see Stephen G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Biblical Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 33–35; and Gregory Goswell, "Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place," *JETS* 60, no. 2 (2017): 283. On specific proposals regarding the OT canon, with reference to Chronicles, see H. G. L. Peels, "The Blood 'from Abel to Zechariah' (Matthew 23,35; Luke 11,50f.) and the Canon of the Old Testament," *ZAW* 113, no. 4 (2001): 583–601; and Goswell, "Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place," 283–300. To speak of a "canon" in Luke's day does not entail the idea of a single document containing all the books of the OT, but rather the idea of a delineated collection of inspired books, including (possibly) the idea of their proper ordering.

60 Cf. Goldsworthy, *Christ-Centered Biblical Theology*, 25–26. On "ever-intensifying decline" in the DH, see Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 79–80. While I am willing to concede that Samuel-Kings is, on the whole, more negative than Chronicles, nevertheless both, not merely the former, focus on "what went wrong" in the Davidic kingdom, with its dissolution as the punishment. See, e.g., 2 Chr 24:18–19; 36:12–21.

61 Wright, *NTPG*, 217. See also Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty*, 224–27.

To recognize the patent similarities between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in terms of overall story and structure is not to downplay the considerable differences between them. Each had distinct authors, communities, and contexts that not only gave them birth, but rendered them relevant and intelligible. Yet we must resist the modern scholar's impulse to view the two works as utterly distinct; an impulse that is derived more from the atomistic exigencies of modern biblical scholarship than from the texts themselves. We must not miss the forest for the trees. Instead, we should acknowledge that "particularly at the level of ground ideas, core ideological concepts, and basic communicative (rhetorical) grammar as well as general historiographical tendencies, the gap between Chronicles and the Deuteronomistic History (in its present form) was not as large as often claimed."⁶²

Furthermore, and crucially, the survey of Second Temple Jewish literature below will demonstrate that reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together as a single story is *precisely how it tended to be read in Luke's day*. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that many of the sources available to us freely conflate elements from the two works, turning them into a single unified story. Thus, to think in terms of the SKNA is to think in the way that a Second Temple period author would have. For us *not* to do so would be to read the books inaccurately and anachronistically. The practical implication of this conclusion is that in the exegetical chapters of this work I will freely and without apology cite evidence from both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, out of faithfulness to the literary and cultural milieu with which we are concerned.

5 Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Second Temple Jewish Literature

Since adequately assessing the role of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in the Second Temple Jewish literature would require an additional monograph, the discussion here must be limited to selected issues and perspectives.⁶³ We begin with an observation that the following presentation should make abundantly clear: material from Samuel-Kings (and, to a lesser extent, Chronicles) is ubiquitous throughout the Second Temple Jewish literature. This point is

62 Ben Zvi, "Are There Any Bridges Out There?," 85. See also Ben Zvi's observation that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were intended to be read in concert. Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Book of Chronicles: Another Look," *SR* 31, no. 3–4 (2002): 263.

63 Two important studies toward this end are Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*; and Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 17–137. Still lacking is a detailed study of the reading and reception of both works together in the Second Temple period.

one of six elements that contribute toward a prior probability of Luke's use of the SKNA.⁶⁴

The following discussion will proceed in three parts. First, I will summarize the presence and impact of certain important SKNA themes, such as *David*, *temple*, and *kingdom*. Second, I will present a schema, based on that of Deborah Dimant, for categorizing compositional uses of the OT in the Second Temple period, in order to properly situate Luke's use of the SKNA along a spectrum of similar literary activity. Third, I will present evidence of other Second Temple authors reading and using SKNA material the way I am claiming that Luke did. This includes demonstrating that Samuel-Kings was a source of "rewriting" or was used as a literary template, that both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were read together as a literary unity, and that several authors discerned a narrative arc in them. In demonstrating these things, we will establish that what is being proposed for Luke is plausible within his literary and cultural context.

5.1 *Selected SKNA Themes in Second Temple Jewish Literature*

The following themes in the Second Temple Jewish literature are relevant to both the SKNA and Luke-Acts.⁶⁵ The observations and supporting citations below are not intended to be comprehensive; instead, certain facets of each are highlighted that will be pertinent later on in the study, along with key supporting references.

64 As mentioned above, the language of "prior probability" explicitly invokes the Bayesian methodology outlined in ch. 1.

65 We will focus primarily on material up to and including the first century AD, including the OT pseudepigrapha, the Apocrypha, the DSS, Josephus, and Philo. Although the later rabbinic literature may also be relevant, the emphasis is on material prior to or contemporary with Luke. Also included, however, are a few texts from Luke's time or slightly after (e.g., 2 Baruch; targumim), since they still reflect the same general milieu. Also, although Chronicles is obviously a Second Temple work, it is not discussed here since, first, we already discussed it above, and second, the aim is to detect the book's influence (along with Samuel-Kings) on other works. Except where noted, for texts and translations throughout this section the following sources have been used: James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983–1985); Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998); Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: The Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998); and Philo of Alexandria, *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. C. D. Yonge (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995). Translations of the Apocrypha are the author's except where noted.

5.1.1 David

David is arguably the single most important biblical figure in the Second Temple Jewish literature, in many places representing nothing less than the Jewish hope of restoration after exile and the fulfillment of God's promises to his people.⁶⁶ The vast majority of references to David present him in a positive light, while at the same time downplaying or explaining away some of the unfavorable elements of his life mentioned in the Book of Samuel.⁶⁷ But David is more than just a positive example; he is also presented as a prophet, and the author of the Psalms.⁶⁸ Furthermore, David is associated in an intimate way with the Jewish hope for a messianic deliverer. While the concept of *Messiah* is broader than David, many texts specifically link the idea of a victorious future king with Jesse's son.⁶⁹ Some texts also link him to the building of the temple, including the idea of a future, eschatological temple.⁷⁰ A few texts also seem to point toward the *democratization* of the Davidic promises, hinting at royal status for a group of people by virtue of some connection to the Davidic covenant (cf. Isa 55:1–5).⁷¹ Finally, Yuzuru Miura has highlighted a

66 On David in the Second Temple Jewish literature, see especially Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 35–57; and Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 44–138.

67 2 Bar. 53–76; 4 Macc 3:6–18; 1 Macc 2:57; Sir 47:1–11; 49:4; 4Q504 1–2 IV, 4–8; 11Q5 (11QPs^a) xxvii. 4Q398 (4QMMT^e) 14–17 II, 1–2 notes that David was forgiven. CD-A V, 2–6 excuses David's polygamy. Ant. 7.130–158 softens the Bathsheba affair.

68 11Q5 xxvii; Ant. 6.166; 7.391; Agr. 50; Sam. Tg. 22:1; 23:1.

69 3 En. 45:5; 4 Ezra 11:1–12:39; T. Jud. 24; T. Naph. 8:2–3; Pss. Sol. 17:21–23; 18:5–9; 1Q28b (1Qsb) V, 20–28; 1QM V, 1; 4Q161 (4QpIsa^b) III, 18–21; 4Q174 (4QFlor); 4Q252; 4Q285; CD-A VII, 14–21; 11Q19 (11QT^a) LIX, 8–21; Tg. Isa. 11:3–4; 16:5; Tg. Onq. Gen 49:10. As mentioned above, although some of these texts are later than Luke's time they still reflect the same general worldview. Even those that contain Christian interpolations (e.g., T. 12 Patr.) still contain earlier traditions, as is likely for the portions cited here. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 1:777–78.

70 Sib. Or. 5:420–28; 4Q174. Sib. Or. 5 likely dates from the late first century AD; the portion here likely represents Jewish, rather than Christian, ideas. Ibid., 1:390–92.

71 1QS IV, 22–23; V, 5–6; 1Q28b I, 2–3; II, 25; 1QM XI, 5–9; 4Q521 2 II, 1–2, 7–8, 11–13; CD-A VII, 14–21; 4Q252 V, 1–5. On the Qumran concept of the “Covenant of the Community” (ברית הַקָּהָל) as reflecting a transfer of the Davidic covenant to all the restored people of God, see Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 476, 489–91. See also Marshall, “Acts,” 586. On democratized kingship in the Wisdom of Solomon (with an indirect connection to David), see Judith H. Newman, “The Democratization of Kingship in Wisdom of Solomon,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, eds. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman, JSJ.S 83

crucial element of the Second Temple portrait of David: the “enormous” influence of Chronicles on it.⁷²

5.1.2 Solomon

Solomon is characterized far more ambiguously than David in the Second Temple Jewish Literature.⁷³ In places he is portrayed positively alongside of David or another figure.⁷⁴ As with David, some of the negative aspects of his life are occasionally softened.⁷⁵ He is also presented as the source of or inspiration for much of the wisdom tradition,⁷⁶ as well as the builder of the temple.⁷⁷ Not all portrayals are positive, however, and some are mixed. An example of this ambivalent approach to Solomon is Sir 47:12–22, which portrays him as starting out strong but falling into sin. Furthermore, Sir 49:4, which sums up the reign of kings from David to Josiah, states that “except for David and Hezekiah and Josiah all of them [i.e., the kings of Judah] went far wrong, for they forsook the law of the Most High; the kings of Judah came to an end.” Solomon is not mentioned as a godly exception.⁷⁸ In addition, crucially for this thesis, a few texts indicate that the downfall of the Davidic kingdom began at or around the time of Solomon, thus establishing that at least some Second Temple authors descried the *arc* in the SKNA. We will consider these texts further below.

5.1.3 Other Kings

Besides David and (sometimes) Solomon, the kings Hezekiah and Josiah, when mentioned, are characterized as good, godly kings.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, quite

(Leiden: Brill, 2004), 309–30. On the relevance of this theme for the present study, see ch. 5.

72 Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 67–68. Specific elements from Chronicles that show up in the Second Temple Jewish literature include: omission of David's struggle with Saul (Sir 47:3–7), the phrase “city of David” (1 Macc 1:33; 2:31; 7:32; 14:36), David as the cult founder (Sir 47:8–10; 1 Esd 1:4, 15; 5:57; 8:48), and David's involvement in the construction of the temple (Eup. 30:5–8).

73 For a similar conclusion, see Pablo A. Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*, JSJ.S 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 225–26.

74 Alongside of David: 2 Bar. 61; 4Q385^a 13 II, 2–4; 4Q398 11–13, 1. Alongside of Moses: 2 Macc 2:8–12.

75 For example, Josephus defends the extravagance of Solomon's palace. *Ant.* 8.130.

76 Psalms of Solomon; Wisdom; Sirach; Eupolemus.

77 Josephus, *Ant.* 8.51–121; Testament of Solomon.

78 A similarly ambivalent treatment is found in the Testament of Solomon which, although a Christian document, likely transmits first century ideas. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 1:942.

79 E.g., 2 Bar. 63:1–11 (Hezekiah); 66:1–8 (Josiah); Sir 49:4 (Hezekiah and Josiah); *Ant.* 9.260–10.236 (Hezekiah); 10.48–78 (Josiah, though see 10.76).

often these same texts indicate the inevitability of the kingdom's downfall after David.⁸⁰

5.1.4 Kingdom

As we saw earlier, the concept of the kingdom of God has its roots in the OT, including Chronicles.⁸¹ The idea that God is king of the earth and of his people, and that his reign and rule ought to be manifested on earth, is ubiquitous throughout the Second Temple literature.⁸² This concept is also tied, in many places, to a wider *story* about God, Israel, and the world, including God's efforts to restore the latter two from a state of disorder.⁸³ This results in a decidedly futuristic orientation to God's kingship in places, including the idea of a climactic battle to reestablish God's rule.⁸⁴ In addition, some of these future-oriented visions of the kingdom also involve the reign of a Davidic king.⁸⁵ In some places God's people are also portrayed as reigning in God's kingdom.⁸⁶

5.1.5 Temple

Several aspects of the temple theme in Second Temple literature are relevant for this study.⁸⁷ First, there is the expectation of a future restored temple, often set in an eschatological or apocalyptic context.⁸⁸ Related to this is the idea of a temple expanding throughout the earth which is seen in some places.⁸⁹

80 For example, see *Ant.* 10.79 which, immediately after the death of Josiah, mentions the impending calamity coming upon the nation as prophesied by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

81 On the *kingdom* theme see the contributions by John J. Collins and B. T. Viviano in Wendell Willis, ed, *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 67–107. See also Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 23–45, 130.

82 1 En. 25:1–7; 82:2–4; 3 En. 48:5; Pss. Sol. 5:18–19; 17:1–3, 46; Tob 13:1–18; 1QM (especially vi, 6; xii, 7–8; xiv, 16); 4Q510 1 2–4.

83 See Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 24–31; and Wright, *NTPG*, 303–4.

84 1 En. 91:11–17; Sib. Or. 3:767–95; 4 Ezra 7:26–30; 2 Bar. 40:3; T. Jud. 24:5; T. Mos. 10:1–10; Pss. Sol. 17:21, 32, 36, 42; 1QM; 1Q28b v, 21; 4Q161 III, 18–21; 4Q246; 4Q252; 4Q522.

85 2 Bar. 40:3; T. Jud. 24:5; Pss. Sol. 17:4, 21, 32, 36, 42; 1Q28b v, 21; 4Q161 III, 18–21; 4Q252 v, 1–6.

86 1QM XI, 1; XI, 5–9; XII, 15–16; XIX, 7; 4Q246 II, 4; CD-A VII, 14–21; 4Q252; 4Q504 4 10; 4Q521 2 II, 5–8. Cf. Exod 19:6; Dan 7:18, 22, 27. For a similar idea in the NT, see ch. 5.

87 See G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, NSBT 17 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 154–65; and J. Bradley Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age in Luke-Acts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 5–18.

88 1 En. 90:28–36; 91:13; 93:7; Sib. Or. 3:265–94; 5:420–28; 4 Ezra 10:25–59; 2 Bar. 4:2–6; 32:2–4; 3 Bar.; 4 Bar. 3:11; 4:4; T. Benj. 9:2; T. Levi 3:4–8; 2 Macc 2:1–8; 4Q174; 4Q286 (4QBer^a); 4Q365a 2 II; 4Q400–407; 4Q502; 5Q15 (5QNJ); 11Q19 // 11Q20 (Temple Scroll).

89 1 En. 90:28–36; Sib. Or. 5:414–32; Sir 24:8–17; 1QH^a XIV, 12–19; XV, 19; XVI, 4–9, 16–20; 4Q418 81 4.

Another idea occasionally encountered is the idea that God's people are, in some sense, a temple.⁹⁰ As mentioned above, there are also texts that describe Solomon's building of the temple.

One final point to mention regarding these themes is that they are inter-related, particularly the themes of David (or the Messiah), kingdom, and temple.⁹¹ We saw above that this is true in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles; we shall see in chapter 4 that it is true of Luke-Acts as well.

5.2 *Second Temple Period Uses of Scripture and Luke's Use of the SKNA*

In order to get a handle on the enormous variety in the way that Scripture is used in the Second Temple Jewish literature, and to situate Luke's use of the SKNA within it, I have chosen to adopt a schema proposed by Devorah Dimant.⁹²

First, Dimant distinguishes between *expositional* and *compositional* uses of Scripture. Expositional uses of Scripture are those where Scripture is cited explicitly, often signaled by citation formulas. Compositional uses, on the other hand, are when "biblical elements are interwoven into the work without external formal markers."⁹³ This includes implicit quotations and allusions, as well as the use of OT motifs and models.⁹⁴ We will focus on compositional uses.

Second, Dimant distinguishes among several different types of *narrative*. These include "free narratives," "Biblical Expansion" (with two subtypes: "rewritten Bible," and "freer biblical adaptations"), and "Pseudepigraphic Biography." Table 2.1 represents Dimant's taxonomy, with examples.

90 1 QS VII, 17, 18; VIII, 4–10; IX, 6; XI, 7–9; 4Q174; 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 81 3–5; 4Q511 (4QShir^b) 35 3–5. For discussion of this idea, see Devorah Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as a Temple," in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 269–88.

91 Some texts that connect the themes of kingdom and temple are 1 En. 91:13; 93:7–8; Jub. 1:28; Tg. Isa. 24:23; 31:4; 4Q174; 4Q400; 1Q28b IV, 25–26. For David and temple, see Sib. Or. 4:422–23; 4Q174; 11Q5 XXVII; 4Q522 9 II, 3–5, 11. For David or a messianic figure and the kingdom, see 1 En. 46:4–5; 4 Ezra 7:26–30; 2 Bar. 40:3; T. Jud. 24:5; Pss. Sol. 17; 1Q28b v, 20–28; 4Q161 III, 18–21; 4Q174 1 I, 10–13; 4Q252; 4Q521 2 II, 1–2, 7–8, 11–13. Some texts (e.g., Pss. Sol. 17:26–32; 4Q174) tie together all three themes of kingdom, temple, and David.

92 Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra," 379–419. For an example of applying Dimant's schema, see Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*.

93 Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra," 382.

94 Ibid., 385, 400.

TABLE 2.1 Types of narratives in Second Temple Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Free narrative	Biblical expansion		
	Rewritten bible	Freer biblical adaptations	Pseudepigraphic biography
<i>Examples:</i>	<i>Examples:</i>	<i>Examples:</i>	<i>Examples:</i> ^a
Tobit	LAB	Life of Adam and Eve	Testaments of the
Judith	Jubilees	Joseph and Aseneth	Twelve Patriarchs
Susanna	Genesis		Testament of Moses
1 & 2 Maccabees	Apocryphon <i>Antiquities</i>		

a Although Dimant provides no examples of this type, these fit the description.

For comparison with Luke-Acts, rewritten Bible and free narrative are the most fruitful categories.

“Rewritten Bible” (or, as it is now more commonly known, “rewritten Scripture”) is the name given to a type of literature, common in the Second Temple Period, in which (as the name implies) earlier scriptural narratives were retold with an interpretive aim, sometimes combining disparate sources and including additional material not found in the biblical text.⁹⁵ The Book of Chronicles is perhaps the first example of rewritten Scripture and the prototype of the genre.⁹⁶ Other examples include the Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (LAB), Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, and Josephus’s *Antiquities*. We will look at some of these works below in discussion of their use of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

At first glance, rewritten Scripture would seem to be a good fit to describe Luke’s use of the SKNA as I present it throughout this study: (1) Luke-Acts is clearly a narrative; (2) although it follows an OT source it never explicitly cites it; (3) the usage is “serial yet selective”; (4) the purpose is ultimately

95 The term “rewritten Bible” was coined by Géza Vermès. Literature on rewritten Bible is vast; for a recent treatment, see József Zsengellér, ed, *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques?: A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). In the last decade or so, “rewritten Scripture” has become the preferred term. Vermès calls this difference a “mere quibble.” Ibid., 8.

96 Philip S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 100, 114.

interpretation; and (5) the exegetical reasoning used is subtle.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, rewritten Scripture is probably not the closest match. Although Luke-Acts (according to the present argument) would have in common with rewritten Scripture the feature of relying on an OT source to drive the main plot sequence, all the other examples of the genre do so far more explicitly, and are far more closely tied to their scriptural source on a point-for-point basis, than Luke is to the SKNA. In short, Luke-Acts is *too* subtle to be rewritten Scripture of the SKNA.⁹⁸

Dimant's "free narrative" seems more appropriate. Works such as Tobit, Judith, and 1–2 Maccabees, although profoundly reliant on Scripture, do not explicitly rework biblical materials the way that rewritten Scripture does. Rather, they incorporate them in more subtle ways. First, Dimant notes how, in free narratives, implicit biblical quotations are often used "to imitate biblical styles and forms. ... Such a technique is used when the author wishes to draw an analogy between his story and a biblical one."⁹⁹ This description applies exceptionally well to Luke's well-known echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel at the beginning of his Gospel, which we will look at more closely in chapter 4.

Second, and crucially, Dimant also describes cases in which an OT text is used as a fundamental literary model for another text. The main example is Tobit. Dimant presents an impressive list of parallels demonstrating Tobit's dependence on the Book of Job on the level of basic plot and characterization.¹⁰⁰ She then notes the exegetical payoff of this use of Scripture: "it leads to a *comparison* between the new and old texts, and not to an *integration* of the old in the new, as was the case in the pseudepigraphic or 'rewritten Bible' narratives."¹⁰¹

97 These features of rewritten Bible are taken from *ibid.*, 99–121.

98 As for similarities between Luke-Acts and other examples of rewritten Bible, LAB in particular stands out for comparison. Eckart Reinmuth noted several parallels between LAB and Luke-Acts, including similarities in the use of Scripture, in compositional techniques, and in an overall view of history. Reinmuth, *Pseudo-Philo und Lukas: Studien zum Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum und seiner Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanischen Doppelwerks*, WUNT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994). Others have noted the similarities as well. There is another sense in which some scholars have argued for seeing the Gospel of Luke as rewritten Bible: Luke's apparent rewriting of the Gospel of Mark. See Evans and Sanders, *Luke and Scripture*, 3–4. On Luke's rewriting activity in general, see also Mogens Müller and Jesper Tang Nielsen, eds, *Luke's Literary Creativity*, LNTS 550 (London: T&T Clark, 2016).

99 Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra," 406.

100 *Ibid.*, 417–19. On Tobit's use of the plot of Job, see also Dennis R. MacDonald, "Tobit and the Odyssey," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. Dennis R. MacDonald, SAC (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 39. For other options concerning Tobit and plotline mimesis, see *ibid.*, 11–40.

101 Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra," 419; emphasis added.

Dimant further notes that “in addition to similarity of contents, the author sometimes interweaves details from the actual text of Job.”¹⁰² These comments on Tobit’s use of Job could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to Luke’s use of the SKNA as presented in this study. Finally, the inclusion of 1–2 Maccabees in the category indicates that it is broad enough to encompass historically oriented works like Luke-Acts.

Thus, free narrative would seem to be a close fit for Luke’s use of the SKNA. As with Tobit and Job, I will argue that Luke uses the OT model not by explicitly integrating its words and motifs within his narrative, as in rewritten Scripture, but rather by *absorbing* the plot, and interweaving critical details in such a way as to present a comparison between the old and the new. A key difference between my proposal for Luke-Acts and Dimant’s examples of free narrative, however, is that Luke does in fact introduce direct comparisons between figures in his narrative and those in the SKNA. For example, unlike Tobit’s use of Job, Luke mentions David (repeatedly), and draws explicit comparisons between David and Jesus throughout his work. Therefore, if we consider Second Temple literary activity as a spectrum, Luke-Acts perhaps lies on a point between free narrative and rewritten Scripture; closer to the former, with elements of the latter. At any rate, with either of these options, we are clearly in the neighborhood.¹⁰³

5.3 *Reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in the Second Temple Period*

Now that we have situated Luke-Acts along the spectrum of Second Temple Jewish literary activity, we can turn to the question of how Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were used in that literature. Here I will establish three points. First,

¹⁰² Ibid., 418.

¹⁰³ Two more possibilities for describing Luke’s use of the SKNA can be quickly dispensed with: “summaries of Israel’s story,” and midrash. Summaries of Israel’s story are short accounts of Israel’s history that are inserted into longer narratives. On the literary form, see Jason B. Hood and Matthew Y. Emerson, “Summaries of Israel’s Story: Reviewing a Compositional Category,” *CurBR* 11, no. 3 (June 2013): 328–48. In ch. 4 we will discuss the speeches in Acts 7 and 13 as prime examples of this; Luke-Acts as a whole cannot be. As for midrash, this (like rewritten Bible) is more explicitly and closely tied to a source than the comparison with the SKNA would allow. On Luke-Acts and midrash (with a similar assessment), see Evans and Sanders, *Luke and Scripture*, 3. As with rewritten Bible, seeing Luke-Acts as midrash on *Mark* is plausible. See especially Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke’s Gospel*. Also, describing Luke-Acts as a free narrative or rewritten Bible is not the same as assigning a genre to it. As we shall see in ch. 3, that complicated question is best answered by viewing Luke-Acts as an example of Greco-Roman historiography. But with respect to its use of Scripture, and with reference to Dimant’s taxonomy, the best fit is free narrative leaning toward rewritten Bible.

several Second Temple sources either rewrite Samuel-Kings, or use portions of it as a literary template. Second, many of these sources interweave material from both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Third, several sources give evidence of discerning an arc in SKNA 2—that is, presenting David (and sometimes Solomon) as a high point of Israel's history, with an overall downward trajectory thereafter. All of these features are also true of the way I argue that Luke used the SKNA.

5.3.1 Rewriting and Modeling Samuel-Kings

Several texts from the Second Temple period either rewrite Samuel-Kings or use portions of it as a literary model. Others use portions of it in summaries of Israel's history.

Rewritten Scripture. Ariel Feldman observes that “Samuel and Kings were the subject of considerable rewriting activity in Second Temple times, particularly in the last two centuries BCE.”¹⁰⁴ Besides the Book of Chronicles itself, Second Temple texts that rewrite portions of Samuel-Kings include LAB, *Antiquities*, 4Q160 // 4Q382, 4Q481a, and 6Q9.¹⁰⁵ In addition, as we shall see below, all of these texts, in various ways, show influence not only from Samuel-Kings, but from Chronicles as well. While Chronicles does not seem to have been a popular primary model for rewriting activity, possible exceptions are the work of Eupolemus and 1 Esdras.

Use as a literary template. Feldman notes that “several Second Temple texts utilize passages, events, and figures from Samuel-Kings as literary models.”¹⁰⁶ For example, several portions of 1 Maccabees seem to use Samuel-Kings, and possibly Chronicles, as literary models, including 1 Macc 2:27–48, 1 Macc 3:1–26, and 1 Macc 14:4–15.¹⁰⁷ This influence also extends to the book's “relatively sober” narrative style, which is particularly redolent of Samuel.¹⁰⁸ Elsewhere, the prayer in Wis 9 is modeled on prayers of Solomon (1 Kgs 3:6–9; 8:15–21), while 11QPs^a XXVII, 2–11 is modeled on both 1 Chr 16–17 and 1 Kgs 5:12.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 183. He notes in passing that Chronicles may have been the original example of this type of activity. *Ibid.*, 184.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 28–32, 183. A new finding of Feldman's research is that 4Q160 and 4Q382 are taken from the same underlying composition. 4Q51 may also be included on the list of rewritings. Although Feldman counts the work of Eupolemus among the rewritings, this work is different from the other examples he cites in that it favors Chronicles over Samuel-Kings. See below.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 7, 246–48, 490–92.

¹⁰⁸ Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 21.

¹⁰⁹ Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 12–13. In addition, from the NT Feldman also identifies the Magnificat and Elizabeth's prayer from Luke (imitating Samuel) and the two

Historical Summaries. In addition to texts that rewrite Samuel-Kings or use portions as a literary template, many others, both historical and apocalyptic in orientation, summarize Israel's history using material from Samuel-Kings. These include *Jewish War* (J.W. 5.384–388, 391–2, 404), 1 Enoch (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17 [“The Apocalypse of Weeks”]; 1 En. 85–90 [“The Animal Apocalypse”]), The Testament of Moses (2:3–3:3), and some of the DSS (4Q385a 13 II, 1–4; 4Q470).¹¹⁰ I note here that Stephen's speech in Acts 7 and Paul's synagogue sermon in Acts 13 are likewise “summaries of Israel's story” based in large part on material from Samuel-Kings.¹¹¹

Based on these examples, we can conclude that the idea of Luke patterning his narrative on the SKNA is hardly far-fetched. While there is no example of a text using Samuel-Kings and Chronicles jointly as a literary template for an entire book the way I am arguing for Luke-Acts, these texts make it clear that Samuel-Kings was a popular source for rewriting and literary modeling, often in concert with Chronicles.

5.3.2 Interweaving Samuel-Kings and Chronicles

A core contention of this thesis is that Luke reads Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together as a single story, which I have labeled the SKNA. While I demonstrated above that this is a plausible reading strategy for these books taken on their own terms, in this section I will demonstrate that this way of reading these books was also quite common throughout a broad swath of Second Temple Jewish literature. In fact, the analysis below might even suggest that to read Samuel-Kings and Chronicles *synoptically* in this way was the “default” way of reading them.¹¹² We will look first at cases of clear interweaving of the two sources, and then cases where influence from Chronicles is felt more subtly on works otherwise drawn from Samuel-Kings. While I build in part on the work of others here, this is largely new research, especially concerning the implications for Luke-Acts.

The following works interweave material from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

witnesses of Rev 11 (imitating Elijah and Elisha) as examples of using Samuel-Kings as a literary model.

110 Ibid., 23–24.

111 See ch. 4.

112 By “synoptically” I mean, “in conjunction with”—that is, having one in mind while engaging with the other, and considering both to be telling fundamentally the same story. This might mean using one to fill in details omitted by the other, or combining both into a composite account. This does not necessarily mean that an ancient author (Luke or anyone else) had both books open in front of them as they wrote (although this should not be ruled out), but rather that they are being “seen together” at least in the mind's eye: each is being read and interpreted in light of the other.

The Lives of the Prophets. This short first century AD work briefly recounts the lives, deaths, and burials of OT prophets. The arrangement of the names of the non-writing prophets from Nathan to Zechariah son of Jehoiada reveals influence from both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.¹¹³ Some of the prophets, such as Joad (the unnamed prophet in 1 Kgs 13), Elijah, and Elisha are only mentioned in Kings (Liv. Pro. 19, 21, 22). Meanwhile others, such as Azariah and Zechariah, are only mentioned in Chronicles (Liv. Pro. 20, 23; Cf. 2 Chr 15:1–15; 28:8–15 [Azariah]; 2 Chr 24:20–21 [Zechariah]).

The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah. In its present form this is a composite work combining early Jewish and later Christian traditions concerning Isaiah. The first part (chs. 1–5, excluding 3:13–4:22), dating from the second century BC, recounts the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh.¹¹⁴ The portrait of Manasseh is mainly drawn from Kings, as seen, for example, in the unambiguously negative assessment of his character with no mention of his later repentance (cf. 2 Chr 33:12–17). However, the book also shows influence from Chronicles by telling of Manasseh's deportation (Mart. Isa. 3:6; cf. 2 Chr 33:11), as well as by a reference to "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel," mentioned only in Chronicles (Mart. Isa. 2:6; cf. 2 Chr 16:11; 25:26; 28:26; 32:32).

The Apocalypse of Clouds (2 Bar. 53–76). This portion of the second century AD Jewish work 2 Baruch presents Israel's history as a succession of alternating bright and dark clouds. For the period of time covered by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the text includes details only present in one or the other work; for example, mention of Jezebel from 1 Kings (2 Bar. 62:3; cf. 1 Kgs 16:31; 18:4, 13; 19:1–2; 21:5–25), and mention of Manasseh's prayer from 2 Chronicles (2 Bar. 64:8; cf. 2 Chr 33:12–13, 18–19).

Eupolemus. The Jewish historian Eupolemus, in a second century BC work, draws from material from both 1 Kings and Chronicles as he describes the building of the temple.¹¹⁵ In contrast to the general tendency, Chronicles is the primary source, not Kings.¹¹⁶

113 As arranged in the best textual witness, Codex Marchalianus, traditionally designated as Q. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 2:379. On the date, see *ibid.*, 2:380–81.

114 On the date, see *ibid.*, 2:149.

115 Details from Samuel-Kings include mention of Samuel and Saul (Eup. frag. 2 30), and specifying Solomon's age upon ascension to the throne as twelve years (Eup. frag. 2 30; cf. 1 Kgs 2:12 LXX). Details from Chronicles include: David's being prevented from building the temple because of excessive bloodshed (Eup. frag. 2 30; cf. 1 Chr 22:7–8; 28:2–3 [lacking in Kings]); Solomon's payment of *wine* to Hiram, king of Tyre (Eup. frag. 2 33; cf. 2 Chr 2:9 [2:10 English] // 1 Kgs 5:25); and the skilled man whom Hiram sends to help build the temple being identified as the son of a Danite woman (Eup. frag. 2 34; cf. 2 Chr 2:13–14 // 1 Kgs 7:14). For the examples from Chronicles, see Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 91.

116 *Ibid.*; Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 2:362.

1 *Esdras*. Although 1 *Esdras*, from the late second or early first century BC, is based on material from 2 Chr 35–36, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it may be that 1 Esd 1:23–24 (“the only noteworthy addition to the story of 2 Chronicles 36”) was influenced by 1 Kgs 13:2, 32.¹¹⁷ If so, this work, like Eupolemus, would be a rare instance of rewriting or paraphrasing a biblical text beginning with Chronicles, rather than Samuel-Kings.

Sirach. Sirach 44:1–50:21, from the early second century BC, contains hymns of praise to biblical ancestors. Sirach 46:13–49:6 covers the SKNA period, mentioning Samuel, Nathan, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Hezekiah, and Josiah. While the lion's share of this material is clearly drawn from Samuel-Kings, in a few places Chronicles' influence can be felt as well. For example, Sir 47:9–10, describing David's arrangements for praise in the temple, uses a word for “singers” found in Chronicles but not Samuel-Kings (ψαλτωδός; 1 Chr 15:16, 19, 27; 2 Chr 20:21; 35:15), along with an allusion to 1 Chr 23:30. Likewise, Sirach 47:13, describing Solomon's building of the temple, uses the word “sanctuary” (ἄγίασμα), which only occurs in Chronicles (1 Chr 22:19; 28:10; 2 Chr 20:8; 26:18; 30:8; 36:15, 17).

4Q51 (4QSam^a). This biblical DSS text from the mid-to-late first century BC, containing portions of 1 Sam 1–24, also includes phrases found in Chronicles, perhaps for the purpose of producing a midrash, or as an effort at harmonization.¹¹⁸

4Q54 (4QKgs). These nine fragments of a biblical text from 1 Kgs 7–8, from the mid-first century BC, fill in a gap apparently missing from the MT of 1 Kgs 8:16–18 with material from the parallel text in 2 Chr 6:5–6.¹¹⁹

6Q9. This “Apocryphon on Samuel-Kings” from the first half of the first century BC, while likely based in large part on Samuel-Kings, contains the phrase הגל עד [ה] (“until the exile”), which occurs in 1 Chr 5:22 (6Q9 1 2).¹²⁰

11Q5 (11QPs^a) XXVII, 2–11. Column XXVII of the Psalms Scroll, from the early to mid-first century AD, contains a catalogue of David's psalms and songs. Ariel Feldman observes that “while this text's emphasis on David's cultic activities seems to be influenced by 1 Chr 16–17, the catalogue of his writings is modeled on 1 Kgs 5:12.”¹²¹

Josephus's Antiquities. Josephus's *Antiquities*, from the late first century AD, is the example *par excellence* of the rewritten Scripture genre, fluidly narrating Israel's history from creation to the first Jewish-Roman war. Approximately half

117 Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 79. On the date, see R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 6.

118 Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 6–7.

119 Ibid., 8.

120 Ibid., 157.

121 Ibid., 13.

of this history is taken from the OT, including SKNA material from 5.10.1–10.8.7. Throughout this section, Josephus freely combines accounts from both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, generally following the former while supplementing with the latter. We will consider another possible similarity between *Antiquities* and Luke—the presence of structural mimesis—in chapter 3.

All the foregoing examples interweave material from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in some fashion. A remarkable feature of many of them is that this conflation is executed subtly, seamlessly, and without comment. This suggests both an intimate familiarity with both texts as well as an avid willingness to combine the accounts.

These examples are sufficient to prove the point that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles tended to be read together. But more can be said. A few works, while not interweaving Samuel-Kings and Chronicles material the way that the previous ones do, nevertheless demonstrate influence from Chronicles in other ways.

Liber antiquitatum biblicarum. This prime example of the rewritten Scripture genre from the first century AD contains creative retellings of material from Genesis to the beginning of 2 Samuel (the death of Saul; 2 Sam 1:10).¹²² Owing to the time period covered, Samuel-Kings, not Chronicles, is the obvious literary influence for the SKNA material. Nevertheless, Chronicles has left its mark on LAB in some significant yet understated ways. This can be seen first in the author's style and *Tendenz*, which reflect the Chronicler's influence.¹²³ But most profoundly, the biblical material covered—creation through the death of Samuel—is precisely the material omitted, or rather summarized, in 1 Chr 1–10. In other words, “it seems that Pseudo-Philo desired to supplement Chronicles with his *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* and thus to fill the gap in the Chronicler's history.”¹²⁴ Here is a remarkable case where Samuel-Kings and Chronicles have mutually influenced each other in a sophisticated yet highly inconspicuous way.

DSS Rewritten Scripture Texts. Several examples of “rewritten Scripture” from the DSS were mentioned above (4Q160 // 4Q382, 4Q481a, and 6Q9). Although most of these (with the possible exception of 6Q9) do not conflate material from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, they may show influence from Chronicles in a

122 Although the extant texts are mostly Latin it was likely written in Hebrew with a Palestinian provenance. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 2:298, 300.

123 For example, LAB reflects the Chronicler's interest in the importance of David and his ongoing kingdom (LAB 51:6; 60:3; 62:2, 9). Moreover, the genealogies in 15:3 and 47:11, as well as mention of the “Book of the Kings of Israel” in 63:5, may show influence from Chronicles.

124 Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 83.

subtle way: all of them “extend the scriptural account with speeches, prayers, and psalms.”¹²⁵ As noted above, this is precisely what Chronicles does with material from Samuel-Kings. In other words, these rewritings of Samuel-Kings may show indirect influence from Chronicles by adding precisely that type of material which Chronicles tends to add to its *Vorlage*.¹²⁶ In chapter 6 I will suggest that Luke’s extensive use of speeches, prayers, and summary statements reflects the influence of the SKNA.

We have now seen eleven examples of a synoptic reading of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles—eleven texts in which a *prima facie* case can be made that an author is reading and engaging with both works simultaneously, in a synoptic manner. Several more examples demonstrate more subtle influence of Chronicles on texts interacting with Samuel-Kings material. Although further research is needed in this area, the evidence presented should demonstrate, beyond any serious doubt, that the way of reading the SKNA that is being proposed for Luke is eminently plausible within his cultural and literary context. We can go further. The evidence presented above even suggests that for Luke *not* to have done so would have been unusual. The standard way of reading Samuel-Kings in the first century was to do so in concert with Chronicles.¹²⁷

This point has not been recognized or appreciated sufficiently before with respect to Samuel-Kings or the DH in Luke-Acts. While a great many scholars have indeed noted influence from the DH or Samuel-Kings on Luke-Acts, this influence has often been considered in isolation from corresponding portions of Chronicles. I believe the research presented here demonstrates that this way of reading Luke’s proposed influence is inaccurate. If considering the influence of Samuel-Kings on Luke-Acts, we simply must consider the potential influence of corresponding portions of Chronicles where applicable.¹²⁸ While we cannot, of course, be sure that Luke would have been thinking this way, one thing I believe is beyond serious doubt: the likelihood that he would have done so is quite high.

125 Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 183.

126 Ibid.

127 A few texts that clearly interact with Samuel or Kings but *not* Chronicles are the non-canonical psalms 151A, 151B, 152, and 153, which refer to events in 1 Sam 16 and 17; and 3 Macc. 2:10, 16 which alludes to material from 1 Kgs 8:27–29, 33–53. 1 Enoch 85:1–90:42 (The Animal Apocalypse) and 4 Macc 3:16–18 could allude to either Samuel-Kings or Chronicles.

128 There are obviously portions of Luke-Acts where it is *not* applicable, such as material from the Elijah-Elisha narratives.

5.3.3 The Narrative Arc

A key component of this thesis is the idea that Luke would have read the SKNA with an overall “narrative arc”; that is, as a story ascending to David and Solomon’s reign as a high point, and thereafter descending to the tragedy of exile, with perhaps a few bright spots along the way (e.g., Hezekiah and Josiah). In this section I will demonstrate that many Second Temple sources interacting with Samuel-Kings and Chronicles reflect just such an understanding.

The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17). This pre-Christian apocalypse represents Israel’s history as a series of weeks extending into the eschatological future.¹²⁹ The fifth week (93:7) culminates in the completion of the temple (i.e., the high point at the beginning of SKNA 2), described as “glory, a house and a kingdom.” But in the sixth week, “those who happen to be in it [i.e., the sixth week] shall all of them be blindfolded, and the hearts of them all shall forget wisdom. Therein, a (certain) man shall ascend. And, at its completion, the house of the kingdom shall be burnt with fire; and therein the whole clan of the chosen root shall be dispersed” (1 En. 93:8).

Here is a brisk and bleak summary of SKNA 2 presented in purely negative terms, with downfall and exile the inevitable endpoint. Only a vague reference to Elijah (“the man who ascends”) brightens the picture slightly. For the writer of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, SKNA 2 is a story of failure.

4Q247 (4QPesher on the *Apocalypse of Weeks*). The interpretation of the SKNA just presented above is also likely reflected in the fragmentary DSS text 4Q247, a pesher on the *Apocalypse of Weeks*. This text mentions Solomon, likely connected to the *Apocalypse*’s fifth week, and Zedekiah, likely with the sixth.¹³⁰

The Apocalypse of Clouds (2 Bar. 53–76). Similar to *The Apocalypse of Weeks*, *The Apocalypse of Clouds* is an apocalypse representing Israel’s history as alternating periods of bright and dark clouds. Where the SKNA is concerned, David and Solomon (ch. 61), Hezekiah (ch. 63), and Josiah (ch. 66) are presented as bright clouds. The dark ones stand for the sin of Jeroboam and the Israelite kings until Hezekiah (ch. 62), the time of Manasseh (chs. 64–65), and the exile, portrayed as a contemporary event for the author (ch. 67). As with the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the time of David and Solomon is presented as a high point, with both of them mentioned by name. Although Hezekiah and Josiah are also presented as bright clouds, nevertheless this apocalypse reflects an overall declining arc. In the first place, when Baruch first sees the apocalypse, he notes that “the black [clouds] were always more than the bright” (i.e., as time goes on; 2 Bar. 53:6). Second, the assessment of the Israelite kings (ch. 62)

129 On a date in the second century BC, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 440–41.

130 Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 24.

is unambiguously negative. Third, 2 Bar. 64 clearly presents Judah's exile as the irreversible result of the sin of Manasseh, "the son of Hezekiah" (2 Bar. 64:1). That is, even though Hezekiah is represented by a bright cloud, the conspicuous linking of Manasseh with Hezekiah serves to cast even the latter in a negative light (cf. 2 Kgs 20:21; 21:3 // 2 Chr 32:33; 33:3). Fourth and finally, even Josiah's great piety can only avail to gain honor and divine favor for himself; it cannot save the nation (66:6).

Sirach. Sirach 46:13–49:6 was mentioned above as evidence for reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles synoptically. It also reflects the arc of the SKNA. As with the two apocalypses looked at above, David (and to an extent Solomon) is presented positively, being given a "covenant of kingship and a throne of glory in Israel" (Sir 47:11). Thereafter, however, in a way similar to the Apocalypse of Clouds, Sirach also subtly suggests the downward trajectory of SKNA 2, despite listing the kings Hezekiah and Josiah along with David as godly kings. This can be seen especially in its decidedly ambivalent treatment of Solomon. In fact, the moment of the turn toward exile can be pinpointed with precision. The text begins positively:

How wise you were when you were young! You overflowed like the Nile with understanding. Your influence spread throughout the earth, and you filled it with proverbs having deep meaning. Your fame reached to far-off islands, and you were loved for your peaceful reign. Your songs, proverbs, and parables, and the answers you gave astounded the nations. In the name of the Lord God, who is called the God of Israel, you gathered gold like tin and amassed silver like lead.

Sir 47:14–18 NRSV

But then suddenly everything changes:

But you brought in women to lie at your side, and through your body you were brought into subjection. You stained your honor, and defiled your family line, so that you brought wrath upon your children, and they were grieved at your folly, because the sovereignty was divided and a rebel kingdom arose out of Ephraim.

Sir 47:19–21 NRSV

This first negative comment in 47:19 about anyone in the entire section is jarring, and serves to presage the kingdom's downfall. Sirach 49:4 also suggests a sense of inevitability, despite mention of some good kings: "Except for David and Hezekiah and Josiah all of them sinned greatly. They abandoned the law of the Most High—the kings of Judah—they came to an end." While the three

good kings are not included in the group that abandoned the law of the Most High, still, the outcome is the same: the kings of Judah came to an end.

4QPseudo-Moses. This pseudepigraphic apocalypse seems to hint at the “arc” of the SKNA.¹³¹ While it is difficult to be certain owing to the fragmentary nature of the text, two features are noteworthy. First, as in other texts we have seen, David and Solomon are presented as high points: in the days of Solomon, who takes the throne of his father, there is victory over enemies (“And I will give the life of his enemies into his hand”; 4Q385^a 13 11, 2). Second, the generation of the exile is rebuked by comparing it to Israel during the time of SKNA 2: “And they will do what I consider evil, just as the Israelites did in the former times of their kingdom ...” (4Q390 1, 4–5).¹³² The sense is that, after David and Solomon, everything has gone downhill.

4Q398 (4QMMT^e). 4Q398 provides what is perhaps the clearest example of a Second Temple text reflecting the “arc” of the SKNA. The relevant portion of fragments 11–13, likely belonging near the beginning of the epilogue of 4QMMT, read: [הבר]כונ[ת ש]בא[ו]י [...] בימי שלומה בן דוד ואף הקללות 2 [ש]באו בימי [הבר]כונ[ת ש]בא[ו]י [יר]ובעם בן נבט ועד גל[ו]ת ירושלם וצדקיה מלך יהוד[ה] (“the blessings which came ... in the days of Solomon the son of David and also the curses which came in the days of Jeroboam son of Nebat and until the exile of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah, king of Judah ...”; 4Q398 11–13 1–2).¹³³

Although any larger point made in this text is, unfortunately, obscured by its fragmentary nature, nevertheless it is clear that the author views the time of Solomon and David as the time of Deuteronomic blessings, and the entire time span from Jeroboam down to Zedekiah as the time of curses.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Fragments from 4Q385^a, 4Q387^a, 4Q388^a, 4Q389, and 4Q390 are likely from the same text, 4QPseudo-Moses. See Devorah Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 405–48.

¹³² Translation from *ibid.*, 418. On “Israelites” as referring to the united people of Israel and Judah, and thus likely referring to the time of the kingdom, see *ibid.*, 421.

¹³³ Author’s translation, taken from the *editio princeps*. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.v: Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah*, DJD x (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 28–38, pl. VII–VIII. See similar translation in Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:802–3.

¹³⁴ In line with this general understanding, see George J. Brooke, “Zedekiah, Covenant, and the Scrolls from Qumran,” in *On Prophets, Warriors, and Kings: Former Prophets through the Eyes of their Interpreters*, eds. George J. Brooke and Ariel Feldman, BZAW 470 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 105; and Moshe J. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, eds. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, SBLSymS 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 49–50.

No qualifications are given; no exceptions for godly kings such as Hezekiah or Josiah are made. Here is as clear an indication as we could expect, in one stark statement, of the overall “narrative arc” of the SKNA. Blessings and curses—the ultimate binary opposition describing Israel’s covenantal relationship with Yahweh—here correspond, simply and plainly, to the high point and the low point of the SKNA.

Matthew’s Genealogy. Finally, important NT corroboration for viewing the SKNA as an arc, especially a descent from David to the exile, is found on the pages of the NT. Matthew’s tightly structured genealogy (Matt 1:1–17), based in part on 1 Chr 3:10–19, contains three groups of fourteen names (with minor overlap), with the first group ending on David, the second ending on “Jechoniah” (Ἰεχονίας; i.e., Jehoiachin) at the time of the exile, and the third on Jesus.¹³⁵ Thus, the Gospel of Matthew, like other SKNA texts, also clearly portrays David as the high point of Israel’s history (prior to Jesus), with Jehoiachin and the exile as the low point.

I believe the preceding texts have established that many Second Temple period interpreters of Scripture discerned an arc in Israel’s history as narrated in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. If so, this indicates that for Luke to have done the same would not have been unusual. In chapters 4–7 I will attempt to demonstrate the many ways in which Luke absorbs and transforms this arc, especially by presenting the followers of Jesus as the eschatological heirs of David’s Kingdom (as vice-regents of Jesus), thus turning the OT story of failure into an end-time story of kingdom victory.

6 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we first established a Greek text of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles that Luke might have had access to and preferred to use as he composed Luke-Acts. Next, we examined these books in their OT context, drawing out their basic content, structure, and themes, while noting several themes of relevance to Luke-Acts. We also affirmed the viability of the SKNA concept when considering these books on their own terms. In the survey of Second Temple Jewish literature, I first sketched the role of key themes shared by the SKNA and Luke-Acts. Next, using the schema of Second Temple Scripture-based narratives proposed by Devorah Dimant, I identified Luke-Acts as an example of free narrative with elements of rewritten Scripture. I then undertook a trio of

135 On Matthew’s genealogy, see John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 66–87.

investigations designed to demonstrate the inherent plausibility of Luke's use of the SKNA as I propose in this study. We saw that several Second Temple texts either rewrite or use portions of Samuel-Kings as a literary model, that a great many of them freely interweave elements from both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, and that several of them identify an ascending and descending narrative arc. In addition, the discussion all throughout made it clear that the SKNA (especially Samuel-Kings) was a popular source for a wide variety of authors throughout the Second Temple period.

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that the reading and use of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles I am proposing for Luke-Acts is eminently plausible and defensible. That Luke would have been aware of these books, that he would have read them together as an interwoven unity, that he would have used them as a literary template, and that he would have discerned a narrative arc in them is highly consistent with the way that Second Temple period authors read and used them. We can thus proceed with important components of the prior probability established and confirmed.

Luke's Greco-Roman Literary Environment

A great part of art lies in imitation.

QUINTILIAN, *Institutio oratoria*¹



The purpose of this chapter is to situate Luke within the second of his two “worlds”: his Greco-Roman literary environment. The focus will be on the literary feature known as *mimesis*—an author’s imitation of an earlier text. We will see that *mimesis* was standard practice for Greco-Roman historians, who regularly used earlier works as literary models in ways that carefully balanced imitation with innovation. This chapter also presents a taxonomy of five different types of *mimesis*, based on the work of historian John Marincola, which can be used to bring greater precision to discussions of this phenomenon. As for Luke, I will first demonstrate his profound awareness of Greco-Roman literary practices in general in order to establish his credentials as a Hellenistic author. I will then, using the fivefold taxonomy of *mimesis*, show that Luke clearly engages in at least one kind of *mimesis* (verbal imitation of portions of the LXX, including the SKNA), while suggesting his use of other kinds as well. I will argue that this evidence, when considered alongside of similar imitatorial activity among other Second Temple Jewish authors (such as Josephus), renders it highly plausible that Luke, in composing Luke-Acts, would have relied on an earlier work such as the SKNA as a literary model. This chapter, then, like the last, fits into the overall argument of the study by helping to establish a Bayesian prior probability for Luke’s imitation of the SKNA. Before this, however, we will consider two matters that fit naturally into the subject matter of this chapter: the genre and text of Luke-Acts.²

¹ Translation from John Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 13.

² A third pertinent issue is the narrative unity of Luke-Acts which, as stated in ch. 1, is assumed throughout this study.

1 Genre and Text

1.1 Genre

By *genre* I mean, in the first place, the literary type or kind to which Luke and Acts conform.³ To ask, then, about the genre of these (or any) books means, at least in part, to inquire as to how they might be categorized.⁴ The idea of genre, however, also concerns the way a text *functions*. Modern literary theory recognizes that genres generate a set of expectations that readers bring to texts, and that they also function as a sort of “contract” between author and audience.⁵ This means that genre is not merely a means of classification, but also of *interpretation*.⁶

3 Though there are difficulties with defining genre this way, it seems that many scholars at least begin with such an understanding. See, e.g., Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (2004), 43 (“The term ‘genre’ includes ideas of pattern, class, type, and family resemblance.”); see also 37–38, 39–40; E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 71 (“It will be convenient to call that type which embraces the whole meaning of an utterance by the traditional name ‘genre’”); and Justin Marc Smith, *Why Bíos? On the Relationship between Gospel Genre and Implied Audience*, LNTS 518 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 21 (“chosen literary pattern”). On the difficulties, see Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 37–38. For discussions of genre theory from the perspective of biblical scholarship, see *ibid.*, 25–52; Sean A. Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, SNTSMS 156 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 26–27; Alan J. Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence in the Acts of the Apostles*, LNTS 514 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 70–94; and Andrew W. Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts: An Exploration of Divergence in Greek Narrative Discourse*, BINS 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1–48. For discussions of the genre of Luke and Acts, considered together, see David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1989), 116–57; Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, 20–44; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 237–39, 275–79; Keener, *Acts*, 1:61–62; Daniel Lynwood Smith and Zachary Lundin Kostopoulos, “Biography, History, and the Genre of Luke-Acts,” *NTS* 63, no. 3 (July 2017): 390–410; and Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*. For Luke and Acts considered separately, see below.

4 See, e.g., Adams, *Collected Biography*, 26, 27, 46. Of primary importance in categorizing literature are considerations of *form* and *content*; that is, external and internal features. *Ibid.*, 46–47, 58–59; Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 22; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 41. This is not to suggest that genre categories are fixed and inflexible. On the contrary; as is universally recognized, genre categories are better thought of as a flexible, fluid set of conventions, or better described in terms of a “family resemblance.” On flexibility and fluidity, see Adams, *Collected Biography*, 60–64; Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 24–28; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 45–46. On “family resemblance,” see Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, 70–71; Smith, *Why Bíos?*; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 40–41. An example of an approach that overemphasizes flexibility is Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*. See, e.g., 92–93, 118.

5 On genre and expectations, see Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, 72–74; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 33–34; and Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 25. On genre as a kind of contract, see Adams, *Collected Biography*, 1; Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 21; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 34.

6 Acknowledged, though too heavily emphasized, by Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*, 118.

One area of weakness in current discussions of genre, especially where the Gospels and Acts are concerned, is a failure to distinguish clearly between *emic* and *etic* descriptions of genre. Emic and etic are terms used in the social sciences (especially anthropology and linguistics) that refer to ways of describing or categorizing phenomena which are used by “insiders” and “outsiders” respectively.⁷ That is, emic descriptions or categorizations are those employed by people *within* a social group, while etic descriptions or categories are used by those *outside* the social group (generally, in anthropology, the anthropologists performing the research on another culture). For our purposes, emic descriptions of genre are those that first century authors (if not audiences) might have been aware of and used (such as ἱστορία), while etic descriptions are those they would not have recognized or used, but which are used by modern scholars (for example, *biographical kerygma* or *apologetic historiography*). There is value in both types of descriptors; it is not automatically assumed that emic descriptions are preferable to etic ones, or vice-versa. I will refer to this distinction in what follows. It is my contention that insufficient attention has been paid to this distinction in discussions of the genre of Luke-Acts, and that doing so can help bring clarity to a complicated subject.⁸

An important question to consider, in the case of Luke and Acts, is whether both books are (or must be) of the same genre. I will address this question after examining Luke and Acts separately.

1.1.1 Luke

The focus on the literary genre of the Gospels, including Luke, is largely a result of the “literary turn” in biblical criticism since the 1970s.⁹ Since that time, although many proposals have been made for the Gospels’ genre, the one that has received the most attention is that they are a type of Greco-Roman βίος, or biography.¹⁰

7 Although there are no precisely agreed upon definitions of these terms, my usage is compatible with the definition provided by James W. Lett, “Emic/Etic Distinctions,” *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology* 2:382–83.

8 The recent works by Bale, Justin Marc Smith, and Daniel Lynwood Smith and Kostopoulos are examples of works whose usefulness is attenuated by a failure to grapple with the emic/etic distinction. Andrew Pitts, on the other hand, while not invoking the term “emic,” makes it clear that he is concerned solely with “which genre the author of Luke-Acts *selected* as the medium for his composition.” Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, 1; emphasis added.

9 For general discussions of the genre of the Gospels, including Luke, see Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 17–76; Michael F. Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 221–98; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 3–24, 78–110.

10 Some other proposals, from the perspective of Greco-Roman literature, include understanding the Gospels as aretology, tragedy, novel, and historical monograph. Still others

In English, this view has been associated particularly with David Aune and Richard Burridge.¹¹ David Aune outlined the essential features of the Greco-Roman βίος, taking note of the genre's complexity and its relationship to historiography before drawing a positive comparison with the Gospels.¹² To date, however, the most comprehensive treatment of the topic has been that of Richard Burridge.¹³ Burridge's work stands out for both its thorough treatment of the question of genre as well as its careful consideration of the βίος genre. Burridge first interacts with then-current literary theory to arrive at an understanding of genre as a conventional set of literary expectations—fluid ones, as in a “family resemblance”—that guide a reader's understanding.¹⁴ As for the Greco-Roman βίος, Burridge notes its affinities with other genres, especially historiography and encomium, and emphasizes, crucially, its “flexible and developing nature.”¹⁵ When he applies these findings to the NT, he analyzes the four Gospels in light of contemporary Greco-Roman βίοι and concludes that, diversity notwithstanding, all are examples of βίοι. This is still the consensus view.¹⁶

concern Jewish and Christian genres of literature. Another view is that the Gospels are simply *sui generis*. See the sources in the previous footnote.

- 11 David E. Aune, “The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels: A Critique of C. H. Talbert's *What Is a Gospel?*,” in *Gospel Perspectives 2: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, eds. R. T. France and D. Wenham (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1981), 9–60; Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?* Also influential, though flawed, was Charles H. Talbert's study, *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977). For analysis, see Aune, “The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels,” 9–60; and Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 81–83. Also important for its treatment of genre and extensive survey of ancient literature is Klaus Berger, “Hellenistische Gattungen im NT,” *ANRW* 25.2:1031–431.
- 12 Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 29–76. Aune, however, considers Luke-Acts, taken together, as *general history*. See below.
- 13 An important German contribution to the genre question which considered a larger sample of primary sources and largely reached the same conclusions as Burridge is Dirk Frickenschmidt, *Evangelium als Biographie: Die vier Evangelien im Rahmen antiker Erzählkunst* (Tübingen: Francke, 1997).
- 14 Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 33–51. On “family resemblance,” see *ibid.*, 46, 234.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 253; Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord*, 239–40. See the additional nuance provided in Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 14, 55–61, 132–69, 204. Andrew Pitts has recently criticized this consensus view, arguing that the “family resemblance” approach of Burridge and others is out of date and fails to adequately account for critical *differences* between exemplar works. His study, based on the systemic functional linguistic approach of J. R. Martin which takes into account genre differences as well as similarities, analyzes eight aspects (“clines”) of Luke-Acts vis-à-vis genre, concluding that Luke—not just Acts—is a work of Greco-Roman historiography. See Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*. Although Pitts's arguments are worth considering, I will assume the consensus βίος view

The general conclusion of Burridge et al. regarding the genre of the Gospels applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Gospel of Luke.¹⁷ However, to conclude that the Gospels in general, and Luke in particular, are examples of Greco-Roman βίοι is not to minimize their distinctiveness, nor to preclude all further discussion on the matter. Whatever their emic generic classification, there is certainly a mix of elements in the Gospels, as well as several features that set them apart from other βίοι. These include their obvious connections to the OT and Second Temple Judaism, their significant eschatological or apocalyptic elements, and their close relationship to Christian preaching.¹⁸ This has led to some creative designations for the Gospels, including “biographical kerygma,”¹⁹ “apocalyptic historical monograph,”²⁰ “eschatological contemporary history,”²¹ and the unwieldy “eschatological kerygmatic biblical historical biography.”²² It is at this point that the emic/etic distinction emphasized earlier bears fruit, for it is obvious that all of these labels are etic; they are modern attempts to explain what the Gospels “really” are, regardless of how the ancients would have thought about them. We can appreciate both perspectives. We can affirm that the basic emic designation as βίος is solid, while at the same time appreciating the Gospels’ distinctive status as “*bioi* plus.”²³ I will develop this point further below with a discussion of the influence of the OT and the SKNA on the genre of Luke-Acts.²⁴

1.1.2 Acts

The main generic options that have been proposed for Acts are *epic*, *novel*, *biography*, and *historiography*, with the greatest attention being paid to the

herein. In any event, any discussion of the genre of Luke-Acts must adequately take into account the influence of the OT. See below.

- 17 Pitts, however, has argued that in some respects the non-Lukan gospels are more like the ancient βίος than Luke. Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, 98, 131–32, 160–61.
- 18 See Jonathan T. Pennington, *Reading the Gospels Wisely: A Narrative and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 27–28, 31–31, 35.
- 19 Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord*, 271.
- 20 Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Beginning of the Gospel: Probing of Mark in Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 27.
- 21 Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 45.
- 22 Pennington, *Reading the Gospels Wisely*, 35.
- 23 Ibid. Smith and Kostopoulos cast doubt on the degree to which the emic designations for prose that are usually applied to Luke-Acts (especially βίος and ιστορία) are accurate for the first century AD. I believe some of the evidence they present undercuts this conclusion. Smith and Kostopoulos, “Biography, History, and the Genre of Luke-Acts,” 395; cf. 398–400.
- 24 For some comments on how Luke’s preface (Luke 1:1–4) affects this conclusion, see below.

last two.²⁵ The view that Acts is biography is especially associated with Charles Talbert.²⁶ Talbert compared Luke-Acts to Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, arguing that the pattern in *Lives* of focusing first on the founder of a philosophical school and then on their successors is a good fit for Luke's double work. This view has the virtue of preserving the generic unity of Luke and Acts, starting from the observation that the Gospel of Luke is a βίος and assuming literary unity. Talbert's proposal, as originally argued, has been criticized on the grounds that the parallels with Laertius are not compelling.²⁷

Sean A. Adams's recent work on Acts should be seen as an attempt to revive the *biography* thesis and set it on firmer footing.²⁸ Adams interacts with genre theory both ancient and modern before considering a broad range of ancient biographical literature (thus avoiding Talbert's narrow focus on Laertius). Adams first concludes that an ancient genre existed called *collected biography*.²⁹ He then, in a manner echoing Burridge, applies this genre to Acts to demonstrate a fit. Adams's work is invaluable both for shedding light on an underappreciated type of ancient literature as well as for bringing out features of Acts heretofore downplayed or only hinted at. I will rely on his work extensively in chapter 6 as we consider the sequence of major characters in Acts.

Adams's case is strong, and the thesis that Acts is collected biography should now be considered the only serious alternative to the consensus view that Acts is historiography. Nevertheless, I believe it is not ultimately successful, for three reasons. First, by the nature of his project, Adams does not consider a possible fit with OT historiography which, I argue, is essential to rightly understand what Luke is doing in Acts. Second, the fact that Acts is a continuous prose narrative speaks against the identification with collected biography. Third, and

25 For general discussions of the options for the genre of Acts, see Phillips, "The Genre of Acts," 365–96; Keener, *Acts*, 1:51–89; Adams, *Collected Biography*, 5–22; and Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*, 48–69. Keener briefly mentions two more options: *Travel Narrative*, and "Acts." Keener, *Acts*, 1:53–54, 88–89. Some scholars, appealing to modern genre theory, resist rigid generic classifications; e.g., Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*; Smith and Kostopoulos, "Biography, History, and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 407.

26 Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974); Talbert, *What Is a Gospel?*; Talbert, "The Acts of the Apostles: Monograph or 'bios'?", in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington, 111 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58–72. This was earlier suggested by Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 127–34.

27 See especially Aune, "The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels"; and Loveday Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," in *Acts in its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, ECC; LNTS 289 (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 43–68.

28 Adams, *Collected Biography*. See especially p. 22.

29 *Ibid.*, 92–115. It is not clear whether this is an emic or etic descriptor.

to my mind most decisively, Adams's thesis cannot adequately account for the vital role that geography plays in the narrative structure of Acts. As Adams himself concedes, an emphasis on geography is not prominent in collected biography. Insofar as there is a general consensus that Acts' structure is closely tied to geography (as expressed, e.g., in Acts 1:8), this seems to be a serious difficulty.³⁰ I will return to Adams's work just below in concluding this section on Acts.

The view that Acts is a work of ancient historiography is currently the scholarly consensus.³¹ Many features of Acts point toward this conclusion: the preface (Acts 1:1–2; cf. Luke 1:1–4), the speeches, the general orientation to world events, the sequencing of linked episodes, the “we” passages, and the use of digressions and summaries.³² The close fit of Acts with this constellation of features has led to the consensus view, which I accept as a starting point. More specifically, Acts is likely a *historical monograph*.³³

The designation of Acts as a historical monograph is not the end of the matter, however, not so much because it is inaccurate, but because it is incomplete. In particular, Acts' character is clearly “mixed.”³⁴ This has led some scholars

30 Adams is aware of the last two objections; *ibid.*, 171. The responses to them on 129n59 (prose narrative) and 210–11 (geography) are plausible, but to my mind unconvincing. The proposed parallel to Josephus's *Antiquities*—which of course is retelling biblical history—is particularly telling. We will look at the role that geography plays in the structure of Acts in ch. 6.

31 Notwithstanding further developments in the past ten years, Thomas E. Phillips's “emerging consensus” endures. Phillips, “The Genre of Acts,” 366, 374, 384. John Marincola proposes the following definition of ancient historiography: “A largely third-person account that employs some element of creative imitation or representation (*mimesis*) to portray the actions, thoughts, intentions, and words of characters who are presumed, with more or less certainty, to have really existed and acted so.” Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 6. History was considered a branch of rhetoric. *Ibid.*, 13, 79; Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 83–84.

32 Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 80–157 (especially 120–31); Keener, *Acts*, 1:90–115 (especially 93–96); Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 137–39.

33 Keener, *Acts*, 1:51, 90–115; Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 36. Aune and David Moessner prefer to view Luke-Acts as a *general history*, which focused on the history of a single national group. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 77, 139–40; Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 50. See also Eckhard Plümacher, “Die Apostelgeschichte als historische Monografie,” in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Jacob Kremer, BETL 48 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 457–66. Some have questioned the validity of the historical monograph subtype. Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*, 59.

34 Phillips, “The Genre of Acts,” 383–85. See also Jens Schröter, “Zur Stellung der Apostelgeschichte im Kontext der antiken Historiographie,” in *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie*, eds. Jörg Frey, Clare K. Rothschild

to emphasize that Acts is a document designed to legitimize the Christian movement, whether this is called a “succession narrative,”³⁵ a “foundation document,”³⁶ or “apologetic historiography.”³⁷

But more than anything, in discussion of the complexities of Acts’ genre, the influence of the OT takes center stage. Since we have already looked at the issue of OT influence on Luke-Acts in chapter 1, here we simply make note of the fact that a great many scholars have observed the way that the OT profoundly shapes Luke’s historiography.

This brings us back to collected biography. In my view, the significance of the thesis that Acts is collected biography is that it serves to sharpen the riddle of Acts’ genre to a fine point, forcing a choice between this option and historiography. We have, on the one hand, a clear concern with matters of general history, including an emphasis on geography and an interest in real-world events. We have, on the other hand, an obvious biographical concern, featuring the succession of major characters and punctuated by speeches, prayers, and summaries. Where else, might we ask, can we find a similar mix of elements in literature that Luke was manifestly familiar with and may have been influenced by? I believe an answer immediately presents itself: SKNA 2. That is, Kings and Chronicles likewise straddle the line between “biography” and “history.” In SKNA 2 we observe a narrative structured predominantly by successive biographical accounts of major figures (punctuated by speeches, prayers, and summaries), which at the same time is tied to larger geopolitical issues and infused with a sense of theological geography.³⁸ If Luke had used the SKNA as a literary template in Luke-Acts, these surprising features of Acts would be a matter of course. When we bring the Gospel of Luke into the picture, the similarities become even clearer.

1.1.3 Luke-Acts

In the discussion above, I concluded that Luke is best understood as a Greco-Roman βίος, and Acts as a work of historiography, albeit with significant biographical elements. What about both together? Given the literary unity of

and Jens Schröter, BZNW 162 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 29–30, 47. According to Phillips, the recognition of this mixed character is part of the “new consensus” concerning the genre of Acts.

35 Charles H. Talbert and Perry L. Stepp, “Succession in Mediterranean Antiquity Part 2: Luke-Acts,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers*, SBLSP 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 169–79.

36 Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 3.

37 Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*; Keener, *Acts*, 1:51, 113–115, 161–64, 441–58.

38 For more on these similarities, see ch. 6.

Luke-Acts, is there a way to understand the genre of this two part work? Or, perhaps we should first ask, does the fact that Luke and Acts are of different genres mean that they cannot constitute a literary unity?

To answer the latter question first: No, and for several reasons. First, while genres in general are flexible entities, this was especially true of both ancient historiography and biography.³⁹ Second, both genres are closely related to each other, sharing a common origin in the impulse toward historiographical writing that arose in fifth century BC Greece.⁴⁰ Thus, biography and historiography are better thought of not as distinct categories, but as points along a continuum.⁴¹ Third, it is not necessary for both works to be of the same genre for them to constitute a literary unity.⁴² Thus, there are elements of both biography and history in both Luke and Acts, and the assignment of each work to a particular genre cannot be used to argue against their literary unity. The elastic boundary between history and biography means that Luke-Acts can, despite generic distinctions between the two works, be thought of as a unified work.

Having answered the "negative" question posed above, we can now address the "positive" one: given that Luke-Acts is a literary unity, how can we best understand its genre? What exactly is Luke trying to do in writing Luke-Acts?

First, using emic categories, David Aune and Craig Keener, although differing on the details, have both arrived at similar conclusions: Luke and Acts can both comfortably fit under the rubric of Greco-Roman historiography, even though (for Keener) Luke taken by itself is a *βίος*.⁴³ In this connection, Luke's preface (Luke 1:1–4), which likely is intended to cover both Luke and Acts, is

39 On the flexibility of genres generally, see Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*, 92; Smith, *Why Bíos?*, 24–28. On ancient historiography, see especially John Marincola, "Genre, Convention and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 281–82, 299–300, 309–21. On biography, see Tomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3, 155.

40 Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 39–41, 102, 104, 109–110. Momigliano is concerned to emphasize the distinction between the two. Keener, who also acknowledges the distinction, notes that it had weakened by the first century. Keener, *Acts*, 1:56n38.

41 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 69, 73; Phillips, "The Genre of Acts," 384; Marincola, "Genre, Convention and Innovation," 318–20. Burrige, though rejecting an idea of a simple continuum, nevertheless acknowledges that "the borders between the genres of historiography, monograph and biography are blurred and flexible." Burrige, *What Are the Gospels?*, 237. See also pp. 63–65.

42 Keener, *Acts*, 1:61, 553–54; 4:3777.

43 Ibid., 1:553; Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 77, 138–40.

especially relevant.⁴⁴ While comparisons have been drawn between Luke's preface and those found in works of historiography, biography, and technical treatises, on the whole the language, style, and themes in the preface point toward Luke's intention to write a work of historiography.⁴⁵ In particular, Luke's use of certain words (especially ἀνατάσσομαι, διήγησις, αὐτόπται, ἀκριβῶς, and καθεξῆς); the formal style; intricate structure; personal introduction and dedication; use of sources; and concern for truth and accuracy, all indicate the historian's craft.⁴⁶ As just observed, however, the biographical elements in Luke do not mitigate against this conclusion. Because of these elements, Dirk Frickenschmidt, emphasizing the distinctions between Luke and Acts, prefers instead to call Luke-Acts a "biographisch-historiographisches Doppelwerk."⁴⁷

Second, using etic categories, if we expand the discussion to include influence from the OT, especially the SKNA, then we observe something striking. If Luke's narrative is profoundly influenced by the SKNA, as I am arguing, the distinction between biographical and historical elements in Luke-Acts becomes even less important—essentially, it disappears. In fact, despite the gulf of time and culture that separates the OT and Luke-Acts, the interplay between biography and history seen in Luke-Acts finds a remarkably apt parallel in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. In both, we have a focus on the life of one individual in the first part, while in the second part we have a wider and more annalistic focus, structured around successive accounts of kingdom agents. This includes an eye toward geopolitics grounded in a firm theological framework. It is my contention that Luke's larger theological purposes and reliance on the SKNA override otherwise strict (i.e., emic) categorizations of genre. Form follows function, and Luke's desire to write "theological history" in two parts becomes the fundamental determinant of how his work should be read and

44 On the intended scope of the preface, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 59.

45 Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 120–21; John Nolland, *Luke*, WBC 35a–53c, 3 vols. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989–1993), 4–5; Keener, *Acts*, 1:93–96. This conclusion is not at all invalidated by Loveday Alexander's conclusion that Luke's preface is more in the style of ancient scientific (i.e., technical) prefaces. Alexander never meant by this that Luke did not intend to write history. Alexander, *Acts in its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, LNTS 298 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 12–13; Keener, *Acts*, 1:94.

46 See especially Sean A. Adams, "Luke's Preface and Its Relationship to Greek Historiography: A Response to Loveday Alexander," *JGRChJ* 3 (2006). For more on the preface, see below. See also ch. 7.

47 Frickenschmidt, *Evangelium als Biographie*, 498–500. See also BurrIDGE, *What Are the Gospels?*, 237–39, 275–79. Smith and Kostopoulos refrain from classifying Luke-Acts' genre. Smith and Kostopoulos, "Biography, History, and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 391–92.

understood.⁴⁸ Thus Luke, in composing Luke-Acts, is writing OT-influenced Greco-Roman historiography, heavily influenced in particular by the SKNA.⁴⁹ I believe recognizing this influence clears up longstanding difficulties and goes a long way toward solving the riddle of the genre of Luke-Acts.⁵⁰

1.1.4 Genre of Luke-Acts: Conclusion

One of the goals set for this study in chapter 1 was to present a generic parallel between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. I believe the foregoing discussion has accomplished this. The mixed generic character of Luke-Acts is a puzzle; a surprising fact that many have tried to explain. If we posit influence from the SKNA on the narrative structure of Luke-Acts, however, the mixed character we encounter becomes expected and natural. I believe this explanation is better than those that appeal to the broad nature of historiography, or that simply note influence from the "OT" in general, because it gives a more precise and satisfying account of the causal history. This is therefore evidence that the theory is likely to be true. I present this as part of the cumulative case of this study.

1.2 Text

We next briefly consider the issue of the text of Luke and Acts.⁵¹ In the case of Luke there is only one significant textual issue: the shorter text found in

48 On function and form, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:62. On Luke-Acts as "theological history," see Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, FRLANT 126 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 15–18. On the search for OT models for the genre of Acts, see Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," 67–68.

49 This influence has been recognized by, among others, Joel Green (Samuel-Kings) and Kenneth Litwak (Chronicles). Green, "Acts of the Apostles," *DLNT*, 12; Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 37.

50 Smith and Kostopoulos, after strongly pushing back on the validity of etic descriptors for Luke-Acts, similarly end up emphasizing, in their emic construal, the importance of the OT for explaining Luke-Acts, concluding that this is "worthy of greater attention." Smith and Kostopoulos, "Biography, History, and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 408.

51 On the text of Luke and Acts, considered together, see Dieter T. Roth, "The Text of Luke and Acts," in *Issues in Luke-Acts*, eds. Sean A. Adams and Michael Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2012), 51–71. On Luke, see *ibid.*, 53–60; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 128–33; Michael Wade Martin, "Defending the 'Western Non-Interpolations': The Case for an Anti-Separationist *Tendenz* in the Longer Alexandrian Readings," *JBL* 124, no. 2 (2005): 269–94; and Juan Hernández, Jr., "The Early Text of Luke," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, eds. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 121–39. For Acts, see Roselyne Dupont-Roc, "La tradition textuelle des Actes des Apôtres," in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Histoire, récit, théologie: xx^e congrès de l'Association catholique française pour l'étude de la Bible (Angers, 2003)*, ed. Michel Berder (Paris: Cerf, 2005), 43–62; Roth, "The Text of Luke and Acts," 60–70; D. C. Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 286–301; Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual*

eight verses.⁵² Westcott and Hort argued in 1896 that this shorter text, found especially in D, should be regarded as original, as opposed to the longer text found in B.⁵³ Although there are some adherents of this position today,⁵⁴ it is probably better to regard the longer reading preserved, for example, in β^{75} , as original.⁵⁵ Except where noted, I follow the text of NA²⁸/UBS⁵ herein for Luke.

Acts presents a far thornier problem, albeit of the same nature as Luke—namely, a difference between the “Western” text and other witnesses, especially the “Alexandrian” text.⁵⁶ In Acts, however, the difference is far greater in that Codex D includes an additional 8.5% of material compared to the Alexandrian text, not to mention various paraphrases, omissions, and other differences. Moreover, certain theological tendencies have been detected in the Western text.⁵⁷ As for how to account for these differences, while there are some defenders of D as the earlier textual tradition, or the Alexandrian and Western texts as two independent witnesses (neither of which, perhaps, reflects the original version), on the whole, given especially the theological *Tendenz* decipherable in the Western text, it is preferable to regard the Alexandrian as the older and more reliable text, with the Western as akin to “the oldest extant commentary on Acts.”⁵⁸ This is not to say, however, that D is without value for recovering an

Commentary on the Greek New Testament, Second Edition: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (4th Rev. Ed.) (London: United Bible Societies, 1994), 222–36; and C. M. Tuckett, “The Early Text of Acts,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, eds. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 157–74.

52 Luke 22:19b–20; 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52.

53 Thus, they called these readings “Western non-interpolations.” Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix*; vol. 2 (London: MacMillan & Co., 1896), 295–96.

54 E.g., Martin, “Defending the ‘Western Non-Interpolations’”; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Luke, Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 9–10.

55 With, among others, Roth, “The Text of Luke and Acts,” 57–58; and Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 131.

56 On the problematic nature of the term “Western” text, see Roth, “The Text of Luke and Acts,” 51n2. On the history and problematic nature of “text types” in general, see Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 171–74. On the continued viability of something akin to the “Western text type” for Acts (whatever it is called), despite ongoing research and changes in methodology, see Eldon Jay Epp, “Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, eds. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 570–71. Epp prefers the term “D-text cluster.” I use the designations Western and Alexandrian henceforth, foregoing scare quotes.

57 These concern a heightened role of the Holy Spirit and negative attitudes toward Jews and women. Roth, “The Text of Luke and Acts,” 65–70; Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 299.

58 Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 301. The Alexandrian text as the better witness is the scholarly consensus. Roth, “The Text of Luke and Acts,” 60; Parker, *New Testament*

original reading in places. Some degree of eclecticism is called for, and texts must be taken on an individual basis.⁵⁹ I generally follow NA²⁸/UBS⁵ throughout this study, making note of any exceptions.

2 *Mimesis* in the Greco-Roman Literary World

2.1 *Mimesis*

Mimesis (μίμησις/mímēsis; Lat. *imitatio*), meaning “imitation” or “representation,” was a fundamental concept in Greek philosophy and Greco-Roman literature.⁶⁰ It was discussed and employed in a wide range of contexts and discussions concerning the arts, language, metaphysics, and literature (including historiography). The two glosses just given (“imitation” and “representation”) represent two distinct but related ways that the ancients understood and used this crucial term.⁶¹

Beginning with the latter understanding, *mimesis* can refer to the way that ancient artists of all kinds represented reality.⁶² With respect to literature, *mimesis* is related to what would now be called *narratology*—how stories are told—and concerns, among other things, issues of plot, characterization,

Manuscripts, 295. On various possibilities for understanding the relationship between the Western and Alexandrian texts, see *ibid.*, 295–97.

59 With Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 298; and Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, ΕΚΚΝΤ 5, 2 vols. (Zurich: Benziger, 1986), 1:54.

60 For other possible glosses of μίμησις, see Octavian D. Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts: Hellenistic Mimesis and Luke's Theology of the Way* (Exeter: Paternoster, 2006), 74. For overviews of *mimesis*, see Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 12–19; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 73–118; Ulrike Zimbrich, “*Mimesis*,” *BNP* 8:926–28; Klaus Müller-Richter, “*Mimesis*,” *BNP* 3:553–57; and D. A. Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. David West and Tony Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1–16. For an extensive list of additional sources, see MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 172n3.

61 This distinction is widely recognized; see, e.g., Franz Penzenstadler, “*Imitatio*,” *BNP* 3:1071; Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 12; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 75; Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 3–4; and Zimbrich, “*Mimesis*,” 8:927.

62 This was a particular topic of concern for Plato and Aristotle (see especially Aristotle, *Poetics*). Zimbrich, “*Mimesis*,” 8:926–27; Müller-Richter, “*Mimesis*,” 3:553–56; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 82–192; and Paul Woodruff, “Aristotle on *Mimesis*,” in *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics*, ed. Amélie Rorty (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 73–95. For a discussion of the role of this type of *mimesis* in historiography, see Vivienne Gray, “*Mimesis* in Greek Historical Theory,” *AJP* 108, no. 3 (1987): 467–86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/294672>.

and portrayal of emotion (*pathos*).⁶³ Direct lines of influence can be drawn between the ancient discussion of mimesis (especially in Aristotle) and elements of modern literary criticism, including structuralism, intertextuality, narrative criticism, and deconstruction.⁶⁴ This conception of mimesis, while rich and potentially fruitful, is not our focus, however.⁶⁵

Instead, I will focus on the understanding of mimesis as *imitation*, especially “the creative imitation of one’s predecessors.”⁶⁶ As John Marincola observes, imitational mimesis was a key element of Greco-Roman historiography:

The literary tradition of classical antiquity—including the writing of history—was conservative and, for many centuries, consciously classicising, with appeal made to a few unchanging models of acknowledged mastery. It had as its central technique the employment of *mimesis*, the creative imitation of one’s predecessors. The idea that one should imitate one’s predecessors, and look to them for the proper way to treat almost any task is a fundamental aspect of ancient literary creation and criticism.⁶⁷

For the Greeks, Homer was the first and greatest object of imitation. As the Greek historiographical tradition got underway in the fifth century BC, historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides naturally looked back to the “poet of poets” for inspiration as they transparently modeled their works after his.⁶⁸ Others, in turn, imitated Herodotus and Thucydides.⁶⁹ By the second century BC,

63 Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 82–109; Stefan Lücking, *Mimesis der Verachteten: eine Studie zur Erzählweise von Mk 14, 1–11*, SBS 152 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1993), 38–47.

64 See Müller-Richter, “Mimesis,” 3:553–55, 557; and Penzenstadler, “Imitatio,” 3:1071. Discussions of mimesis can be found in the works of Heidegger, Gadamer, Ricoeur, Eric Auerbach, and Hans Frye, among others.

65 For examples of “representational” mimesis applied to the NT, see Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*; and Lücking, *Mimesis der Verachteten*.

66 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 12. On this kind of mimesis, see especially *ibid.*, 12–19; Zimbrich, “Mimesis,” 8:927; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 75–82; Russell, “*De Imitatione*.”; and Wilhelm Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1924), 139–84, esp. 146–48.

67 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 12–13.

68 Aristotle, *Poet.* 1.4, 1448b35, trans. Bywater. On the immense debt of Herodotus to Homer, see Charles W. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 30–32. On the huge influence of Homer in general, see Sandnes, “*Imitatio Homeri?*,” 716–17.

69 Including Xenophon, Theopompus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Lucian. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 238; Arnaldo Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* (New York: Garland, 1985), 134.

a body of accepted works had become established that remained the “canon” for later imitation.⁷⁰ Moreover, several authors wrote about mimesis/*imitatio*, both descriptively and prescriptively, including Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Quintilian, Lucian of Samosata, and Longinus.⁷¹

The rationale behind imitational mimesis was not only to show continuity with the past, but also to honor ancient masters.⁷² It was not mere copying, however; the ancients knew what plagiarism was.⁷³ Instead, mimesis was a creative interpretation that involved getting at the *spirit* of the original. Marincola, again, notes that

the imitator does not seek a one-to-one correspondence with a single previous model, nor is his imitation to be slavish (this is mere copying) but rather creative: the writer must appropriate the spirit of his model or models and breathe new life into them, to show how something could be better done, or, if not better done, then well done in a different way.⁷⁴

Quite often, as suggested by this quotation, mimesis included an element of competition, where the later imitator attempted to position themselves as improving upon a source, or as the epitome of a tradition.⁷⁵ We will consider the relevance of this insight for Luke-Acts below.

2.2 *Imitational Mimesis: A Proposed Taxonomy*

While many scholars have written on the important place of mimesis in the Greco-Roman literary tradition, it is seldom noted that it was not a monolithic phenomenon. There were many different types of it; many ways it was expressed. John Marincola has identified several distinct types of imitational mimesis which can be distilled into a fivefold taxonomy.⁷⁶ We will examine each in turn below. The following five terms are largely my own, labeling the phenomena Marincola describes in looser fashion. As can be seen from some

⁷⁰ Called τὰ βιβλία; Dionysius, [*Rhet.*] 298.1. Russell notes that this is “an interesting pagan parallel to the Jewish and Christian term for the scriptures.” Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 3.

⁷¹ Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 13–15; Kroll, *Verständnis*, 147. For other examples, see Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 7–9.

⁷² Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 2.

⁷³ Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 12–14, 13n58 (with examples); Zimbrich, “Mimesis,” 8:928; Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 1–2, 11–12.

⁷⁴ Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 14; cf. Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 1, 5, 12, 16; Penzenstadler, “*Imitatio*,” 3:1073.

⁷⁵ Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 14–15; Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 33, 117; Zimbrich, “Mimesis,” 8:927; Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 4, 6, 7.

⁷⁶ Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 15–18.

of the following examples, authors typically employed multiple types of mimesis, even within a single work.

2.2.1 Verbal Mimesis

Verbal mimesis is the imitation of words, phrases, style, or narrative technique. This is perhaps the most common way that imitational mimesis is thought of. Imitation of isolated words and phrases found in earlier works is a ubiquitous literary phenomenon, as authors of all stripes consciously cite and allude to the works of earlier authors. A few ancient examples must suffice. Thucydides imitated Homer's description of Crete as "seagirt" (περίρρυτος), applying the word to Sicily.⁷⁷ Centuries later, the Roman historian Sallust subtly echoed Thucydides's characterization of the breakdown of communication in times of national crisis.⁷⁸ Josephus, likewise, seems to subtly echo Polybius in his *Jewish War* when he apologizes for writing with passion, contrary to the sober standard for history.⁷⁹

Verbal mimesis could also include the imitation of an earlier author's style. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon stood out as the main objects of stylistic mimesis, with Dionysius's imitation of Herodotus in his *Roman Antiquities* as "perhaps the most thorough-going verbal imitation."⁸⁰

Imitation of a particular author's style could be understood as part of a larger impulse toward *archaizing*.⁸¹ In Greco-Roman literature, the impulse to write in an old-fashioned way was epitomized in Atticism—emulating the great writers of fourth century BC Athens—which reached full flower in the second century AD. As a more general phenomenon, however, archaism was widely practiced long before this, including the movement toward classicism which can be observed in the first century AD.⁸² On this point we must especially mention Josephus, who not only was a Greco-Roman author who wrote in an archaic style, but also of course was a Second Temple Jewish author.

Besides imitating a predecessor's style, there were a number of other ways that an author could indicate a literary debt to a predecessor. These included

77 Thucydides, *P.W.* 4.64.3; cf. Homer, *Od.* 19.173. *Ibid.*, 15n70. See also Plato's echo of *Il.* 6.211 in *Sophist* 268d (ταύτης τῆς γενεᾶς τε καὶ αἵματος; "of this family and blood").

78 Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 52.10–11; cf. Thucydides, *P.W.* 82.4–7. *Ibid.*, 16n71.

79 Josephus, *J.W.* 1.11; c.f. Polybius, *Hist.* 38.4. Harold W. Attridge, "Josephus, Luke, and the Uses of History," *PRSt* 41, no. 4 (2014): 341.

80 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 16n74. For other examples, see Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 71, 173.

81 On linguistic archaism and its importance, see especially Russell, "De Imitatione," 3.

82 Albert Wifstrand clarified the relationship between classicism and Atticism, with special reference to Luke's style, in Wifstrand, "Luke and Greek Classicism," 17–27.

the use of similar motifs, literary techniques, and overall approach to a subject. I will note the commonplace imitation of earlier authors' book titles throughout the following discussion.

2.2.2 Generic Mimesis

Verbal imitation is hardly all that mimesis involved. Many ancient authors imitated not merely words, phrases, or literary style, but the genre or format of a predecessor. An important example is the widespread imitation of Thucydides's *Peloponnesian War*—a historical monograph.⁸³ Imitators of Thucydides's monographic treatment of history include Dexippus, Herodian, and Josephus, whose *Jewish War* imitated not only the genre of *Peloponnesian War* but also the title.⁸⁴

2.2.3 Dispositional Mimesis

By *dispositional mimesis* I mean the imitation of the *outlook* or *attitude* of a predecessor. As Marincola observes, "one could, for example, see oneself in the Herodotean role of dispenser of praise, taking delight in the glorious deeds that one narrated, as did Dionysius and Arrian. Or a somewhat harsher, more critical attitude toward events might be adopted, as we find in the works of Theopompus and Tacitus."⁸⁵ Marincola notes that what I label *dispositional mimesis* can offer insight into an author's aims and motives. To be sure, of all the types of imitational mimesis, this one is perhaps the most difficult to identify with certainty and clarity.

2.2.4 Continuation Mimesis

Yet another way of imitating a predecessor was by continuing their work. Thucydides, again, was one of the main models for this kind of mimesis, which I label *continuation mimesis*. Xenophon, Theopompus, and the Oxyrhynchus historian all picked up where Thucydides's narrative left off in 411 BC.⁸⁶

In continuation mimesis we see the idea of *competition*, mentioned earlier, in sharpest relief. Marincola, again, points out that if an author continued the work of another author seen as definitive, "you are inviting comparison with them, and claiming that your performance will rival theirs and likewise

83 Thucydides, in turn, was imitating Herodotus. Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 32.

84 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 17.

85 Ibid., 18.

86 Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 33; Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 237–238. For other examples of continuation mimesis, see *ibid.*, 238–40.

be 'definitive.' This is "a way of making a claim, without overt advertisement of one's own abilities."⁸⁷

Sometimes the comparison was not so subtle, as an author might explicitly invite comparison with one's predecessors. For example, Diodorus Siculus, in his preface to *Bibliotheca historica*, highlights the perceived shortcomings of those who came before him.⁸⁸ "Trash talk," it seems, was alive and well in the ancient world.

2.2.5 Structural Mimesis

Finally, *structural mimesis* means imitating all or part of a prior work in terms of its literary structure. This could take several forms. For example, Thucydides's choice to structure his history of the Peloponnesian War in terms of successive summers and winters was echoed by the Oxyrhynchus historian.⁸⁹ Many authors likewise followed the annalistic structure of Roman historiography.⁹⁰

More commonly—and importantly for this study—the aim of imitating a prior author was seen in the number of books chosen to structure a work. For example, Herodotus's massively influential *Histories*, divided into nine books at some point subsequent to publication, was imitated by Cephalion (among others) in his nine-part *Mousai* in the second century AD.⁹¹ Xenophon's *Anabasis*, consisting of seven books, was likewise imitated in structure (and title) in Arrian's *Anabasis*, also from the second century AD.⁹² From an earlier era, Diodorus Siculus's *Bibliotheca historica*, a first century BC Greek work in forty volumes, followed the earlier forty-book structure of Polybius's *Histories*.⁹³ Another possible example is the three-part structure followed by both Berossus and Manetho in the third century BC for their histories of Babylon and Egypt, respectively.⁹⁴

87 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 241.

88 Ibid., 241–44.

89 Thucydides, *P. W.* 2.1; cf. *P. Hell. Oxy.* 9. Ibid., 17.

90 Ibid., 16; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Tradition and the Classical Historian," *HTH* 11, no. 3 (1972): 280, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2504681>.

91 Johannes Engels, "Universal History and Cultural Geography of the Oikoumene in Herodotus' *Historai* and Strabo's *Geographika*," in *The Children of Herodotus: Greek and Roman Historiography and Related Genres*, ed. Jakub Pigón (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 160.

92 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 18.

93 Catherine Rubincam, "How Many Books Did Diodorus Siculus Originally Intend to Write?," *CIQ* 48, no. 1 (1998): 229–33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/639765>. Marincola adds that others followed this structure in turn. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 18n85.

94 Oswyn Murray, "Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture," *CIQ* 22, no. 2 (1972): 208–10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/638201>. Both authors are mentioned by Josephus.

Josephus, once again, shows his colors as a Greco-Roman author in his clear structural mimesis of Dionysius's *Roman Antiquities*. As has been widely noted, his *Jewish Antiquities* imitates not only Dionysius's title, but also the structure of his work: both contain twenty books.⁹⁵ His seven-volume *Jewish War*, written for his Roman benefactors, possibly is also written with Julius Caesar's *Gallic War* in view, also originally containing seven volumes.⁹⁶ We will consider the relevance of these types of mimesis for Luke-Acts below.

One additional type of mimesis, not included in this taxonomy, is *plotline mimesis*—that is, the imitation of the plotline of one work by another. There are some who would deny the existence of what I am calling *plotline mimesis* in antiquity.⁹⁷ Others would argue (or tacitly accept) that it exists, at least for some Second Temple Jewish literature.⁹⁸ Clearly this is an area for which further study is needed. In the conclusion I will present Luke's use of the SKNA as evidence of plotline mimesis of an earlier work.

2.3 *The Way of Mimesis*

2.3.1 Multiple Sources and Patterns

Authors engaging in imitational mimesis hardly confined themselves to one source or model in a given work. Quite often an author might, in the course of a single book, seamlessly allude to, or imitate, the efforts of several great predecessors. This is related to the idea of a “canon” mentioned above: any or all of the “greats” were fair game for imitation, and any of them might show up at different points throughout a composition. For example, Arrian, in the preface to his *Anabasis*, verbally imitates both Herodotus and Thucydides, while in terms of the work's structure (and in other ways as well) he imitates Xenophon.⁹⁹

95 R. J. H. Shutt, *Studies in Josephus* (London: SPCK, 1961), 97; Attridge, “Josephus, Luke, and the Uses of History,” 342.

96 Mason, “Josephus as a Roman Historian,” in *A Companion to Josephus*, eds. Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 98–100.

97 See, e.g., Gerald Downing's critique of Thomas Brodie's work in F. Gerald Downing, “Imitation and Emulation, Josephus and Luke: Plot and Psycholinguistics,” in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Joseph Verheyden, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 118, 123–5, 128–29.

98 See, e.g., Devorah Dimant's argument concerning the use of the plotline of Job in Tobit. Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra,” 417–19. See also MacDonald, “Tobit and the Odyssey,” 11–40. Additionally, in ch. 2 we noted that works in the “rewritten Scripture” genre rewrite and expand earlier biblical narratives. This would qualify, in my view, as plotline mimesis. So would the other proposals that have been made concerning Luke-Acts and an OT plotline (such as those by Rebecca Denova and Thomas Brodie; see ch. 1).

99 Marincola, *Authority and Tradition*, 17–18.

As with other aspects of mimesis, in this regard Josephus also shows himself to be well acquainted with the Greco-Roman literary ethos through his smooth blending of disparate influences. Direct verbal, stylistic, thematic, and structural links can be demonstrated between Josephus and the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Nicholas of Damascus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Sallust, and possibly Julius Caesar.¹⁰⁰

The use of multiple patterns could also extend to the very structure of a literary work. From the tradition of lyric poetry, both Virgil and Horace employed multiple structural arrangements.¹⁰¹ Josephus, again, clearly integrates multiple structures in his *Antiquities*: in addition to the twenty-book division inspired by Dionysius there is also a bifid structure: books 1–10 focus on material taken from the Bible, while books 11–20 are drawn from non-biblical sources.¹⁰²

2.3.2 The Art of Mimesis

A final issue to be considered is the manner in which ancient authors executed mimesis, or what might be called *the art of mimesis*. This concerns the tension, already mentioned, between imitating predecessors and producing something new. One could not simply copy. Instead, an author needed to find ways of simultaneously acknowledging their debt to the past while appropriating the tradition and highlighting their unique contribution to it. This called for a delicate touch. As for acknowledgment, this would be found, as D. A. Russell observes, “not in footnotes ... but by making it clear by the tenor of your writing that you are working in a certain tradition, and are fully aware of the resources of your medium, which you assume also to be known to your readers.”¹⁰³ In other words, the source needed to be clearly “advertised.”¹⁰⁴ At the same time, however, “acknowledgement ... must be combined with appropriation. ... You must make the thing ‘your own’ ..., and the way to do this is to select, to modify, and at all costs to avoid treading precisely and timidly in the footprints of the man in front.”¹⁰⁵

100 On Herodotus and Thucydides, see Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 62. On Nicholas of Damascus, Dionysius, and Polybius (whose conscious imitation is described as “slight”), see Shutt, *Studies in Josephus*, 79–109. On Sallust and Julius Caesar, see Mason, “Josephus as a Roman Historian,” 98–100. This is leaving aside the numerous sources Josephus consulted. On which, see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 249n104.

101 Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 5–6, 13–14n68; cf. 64n10.

102 For other possible structures in *Antiquities*, see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 247–52.

103 Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 12.

104 Sandnes, “*Imitatio Homeri?*,” 725–32. Sandnes critiques Dennis MacDonald’s theory of Mark’s use of Homer by lack of clear “advertising” of the supposed Homeric source.

105 Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 12.

Along the same lines, in a telling metaphor, the first century AD Roman statesman and Stoic philosopher Seneca (the Younger), in his *Epistulae morales*, compares the work of an author to that of a bee making honey. Just as the bee flits from flower to flower, collecting and gathering from this source and that to produce honey, so a writer should absorb his sources and transform them into something new which, “even though it betrays its origin, yet nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came.”¹⁰⁶ But how? Above all, especially in cases of larger-scale imitation such as continuational or structural mimesis, this “digestive metamorphosis” would be expressed in the unique arrangement of the work.¹⁰⁷ As Seneca puts it, “the last comer is best placed. He finds the words to hand; differently arranged, they take on a new look.”¹⁰⁸ Commenting on this statement, D. A. Russell notes that “the novelty which the ‘last comer’ can seek lies not in the subject, nor even in the words, but in the mysterious ‘arrangement’ (σύνθεσις, *compositio*) which, for many ancient critics, was the most decisive, and most difficult to analyze, of the elements of literature.”¹⁰⁹

What all this means is that the best authors, as they incorporated their chosen models, did so in a way that was truly unique; that appropriately but subtly paid homage to the ancient sources while at the same time standing out as fresh and original. While mimesis might be signaled in many ways, it was, according to Seneca, especially to be done through the unique arrangement of the material. For those who had ears to hear, the source would be apparent, as would the new use that was being made of it. We will consider what this might mean for Luke’s mimesis of the SKNA below and in the chapters that follow.

2.4 *Second Temple Jewish Authors in the Greco-Roman Literary Environment*

Before we look at Luke and mimesis, we must briefly consider the broader sweep of Jewish authors besides Josephus in the Second Temple period who showed some awareness of Greco-Roman literary conventions.¹¹⁰ Concerning

106 Seneca, *Ep.* 84.5. Translation by Gummere, LCL. See Ellen Finkelpearl, “Pagan Traditions of Intertextuality in the Roman World,” in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. Dennis R. MacDonald, SAC (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2011), 83–84.

107 Finkelpearl, “Pagan Traditions of Intertextuality,” 86.

108 Seneca, *Ep.* 79.6. Translation from Russell, “*De Imitatione*,” 5.

109 Ibid. David Moessner also highlights the need ancient authors felt to pay close attention to the arrangement of their material, albeit using a different word (οἰκονομία), and a different ancient source (Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 172–99.

110 This is not to say that Luke is necessarily Jewish (although I believe he was). Whether he was Jewish or not, he was writing within a strain of Second Temple Judaism with a keen knowledge of the OT.

mimesis, in chapter 2 we saw that both Tobit and 1 Maccabees imitate other works, including following an earlier plot sequence (Tobit) and using portions of Samuel-Kings as a literary template (1 Maccabees). Several other Jewish authors (whose works are unfortunately fragmentary) should also be mentioned. In various ways, authors such as Philo the Epic Poet, Theodotus, Ezekiel (the author of the *Exagōgē*), Demetrius the Chronographer, Aristobulus, Artapanus, Eupolemus, and Pseudo-Eupolemus, all, like Josephus, show themselves to be very much at home in the Hellenistic literary and cultural milieu.¹¹¹ Some of them (especially the poets) engage in mimesis. Others employ specific literary tropes (e.g., the *aporiai kai lyseis* mode found in Demetrius).¹¹² Still others (the historians) write with an apparent apologetic aim, or at least with one eye toward a pagan Greek audience.

Philo, of course, must also be mentioned, especially in comparison with Josephus. Both authors wrote with an apologetic purpose, defending or explaining elements of Jewish life to non-Jews.¹¹³ Both also, albeit in different ways, showed themselves to be fully in touch with the literary movements and standards of their day. Philo however, unlike Josephus, was a native Greek speaker with a formal Greek education.

From this brief review, we can see that Josephus was hardly an outlier. In terms of literature in general, and historiography in particular, we can conclude, with Roger Tomes, that “in many different ways the Jewish historians show affinity with Hellenistic historians and Greek ideas at least as clearly as their affinity with Hebrew historians and biblical ideas.”¹¹⁴

2.5 *Mimesis: Conclusion*

Mimesis affected every aspect of ancient historiography, from the echoing of individual words and phrases down to the structure of entire works. This involved a careful effort to pay homage to past masters, while at the same time

111 For translations of these works, see Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 2:773–903. For an analysis of the historical writings, see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 137–225. For many other sources on this topic, see Attridge, “Josephus, Luke, and the Uses of History,” 338n2. For an analysis of Acts in light of some of these works, see Carl R. Holladay, “Acts and the Fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish Historians,” in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke’s Narrative Claim upon Israel’s Legacy*, ed. David P. Moessner, vol. 1 of *Luke the Interpreter of Israel*, ed. David P. Moessner and David L. Tiede (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 171–98.

112 “Problems and solutions.” See Holladay, “Acts and the Fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish Historians,” 175n14.

113 Larry R. Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2002), 31–35.

114 Roger Tomes, “Heroism in 1 and 2 Maccabees,” *BibInt* 15 (2007): 187.

imparting one's unique mark on the material. The tension between these twin goals is summed up by John Marincola:

One of the primary goals of composition was to be both traditional and innovative, to follow the models of established excellence (some of which had existed for centuries) while making something slightly different, something that was one's own. Imitation was an accepted form of homage, but it was not to be simply a slavish copying of the model but the infusion of a new spirit into a traditional treatment. Whereas exact imitation was merely mechanical and/or decorative, the better writers were able to take something familiar and place it in a new context or frame not seen before.¹¹⁵

3 Luke and *Mimesis*

3.1 *Luke as a Greco-Roman Author*

Before considering Luke's use of mimesis, we first will examine some features of his writing that establish his credentials as a capable Hellenistic author.

3.1.1 The Prologues of Luke and Acts

Alone of the New Testament authors, Luke begins his Gospel with a formal literary preface; perhaps "the best stylized sentence in the whole NT" (Luke 1:1–4).¹¹⁶ Although the issues surrounding the prologue are legion, for our purposes the important point, which is universally acknowledged, is that the preface is "in the style of Hellenistic literary prologues."¹¹⁷ That is, it is proof that Luke is a capable Greco-Roman writer well acquainted with the "canon"

¹¹⁵ Marincola, "Genre, Convention and Innovation," 299–300.

¹¹⁶ Nolland, *Luke*, 1:4. The volume of literature on the preface is Brobdingnagian. For a basic bibliography, see Parsons, *Luke*, 25. For fuller bibliography (and references to yet further bibliography and summary), see Nolland, *Luke*, 1:3–4; and Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1:1–4 and Acts 1:1*, SNTSMS 78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2n3, 3n6. Besides Alexander's important dissertation (*The Preface to Luke's Gospel*) and reaction to it, see also the contributions by Alexander, David P. Moessner, Vernon K. Robbins, and Daryl Schmidt in David P. Moessner, ed., *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999). Finally, see Adams, "Luke's Preface and Its Relationship to Greek Historiography," 177–91. "Prologue" and "preface" can be used interchangeably.

¹¹⁷ Nolland, *Luke*, 1:4.

of relevant literature and the conventions it requires. The same goes for the preface to Acts.¹¹⁸ We will discuss the prologues further in chapter 7.

3.1.2 Style and Rhetoric

An ancient reader who would have been drawn to the highly stylized way that Luke begins his work in Luke 1:1–4 might have been surprised (if not disappointed) by the prose that commences in 1:5. The style shifts dramatically as we leave the carefully crafted syntax of the classical tradition behind for the more earthy LXX-flavored Greek that marks the early chapters of Luke and elsewhere. In fact, Luke is a master of “code-switching”: he changes his style abruptly, varying the timbre to match the speaker, the subject matter, or the setting.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, although Luke does not maintain the tone he sets in the opening verses, his entire work nonetheless firmly bears the stamp of the Greco-Roman literary tradition through myriad choices of vocabulary and syntax.¹²⁰

This tradition is seen also in Luke’s use of a host of rhetorical techniques well-known to ancient authors from school exercises (*progymnasmata*). A small sampling would include *klisis* (inflecting a word in all cases for emphasis; e.g., *πατήρ* in Luke 15), *chreiae* (short sayings or actions; e.g., Luke 9:57–60), *synkrisis* (“comparison”; e.g., Matthias and Judas in Acts 1:25–26), and *conduplicatio* (“doubling”; e.g., “Martha, Martha”; Luke 10:41).¹²¹

3.1.3 Citation of Greco-Roman Works

In two places in Acts Luke cites Greco-Roman authors. Paul’s address in Athens includes quotations from Aratus’s *Phaenomena* and (with less certainty) the poet Epimenides (Acts 17:28).¹²² Paul’s remark in Acts 26:14 concerning “kicking against the goads” can be traced back ultimately to Euripides, even if Luke may have known it from an intermediary source.¹²³

118 Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians,” 21–42; Keener, *Acts*, 1:649–62.

119 Alexander, “Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio,” 17; Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 218–25, 228–31.

120 Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 123–26, 178–80, 224–25; Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke*, HTS 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 4–39; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 77–79. Loveday Alexander, in an important essay, marks Luke’s prose on the whole as an example of “Standard Hellenistic Prose,” a slightly older “default” style used in a wide range of literary contexts. Alexander, “Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio,” 2–14.

121 These examples are taken from Parsons, *Luke*. On the *progymnasmata*, see also Kinney, *Hellenistic Dimensions of the Gospel of Matthew*, 145–48.

122 Keener, *Acts*, 3:2653–64.

123 Euripides, *Bacch.* 764–95. *Ibid.*, 4:3513–16. Dennis MacDonald, as mentioned in ch. 1, also argues for Luke’s extensive imitation of Homer. Some Homeric echoes can certainly not be ruled out.

3.1.4 Parallels

Since the twentieth-century turn toward narrative criticism, many scholars have focused on the numerous parallels and patterns woven throughout Luke and Acts.¹²⁴ These include parallels between characters and incidents in the same book (e.g. Peter and Paul in Acts), or between Luke and Acts (e.g., Jesus in Luke and Paul in Acts). The structuring of works through parallelism is well attested in Greco-Roman authors, including Homer, Virgil, Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, and Plutarch.¹²⁵ While such parallelism is hardly confined to Hellenistic literature, nevertheless in light of the emphasis Luke places on this technique, and considering his facility with other practices, it seems sound to place this item among Luke's Greco-Roman literary techniques, though not to the exclusion of possible OT influence on this point. We will investigate important parallels between Luke-Acts and the SKNA in the following chapters.

3.1.5 Speeches

The speeches in Luke and especially Acts are another example of Luke's use of Greco-Roman literary techniques. Speeches were a staple of Greco-Roman historiography, not only helping to maintaining reader interest but also giving an author a chance to show off their rhetorical prowess.¹²⁶ It was also considered important to match the style of the recorded speech to the speaker as much as possible. As with parallels, speeches are hardly confined to the Greco-Roman milieu. They are also prominent in OT historiography, especially throughout the SKNA. We will investigate Acts' speeches further in chapter 6. As with other aspects of Luke's method, this feature ought not to be understood exclusively in terms of either Greco-Roman or OT influence, but rather both together.

3.1.6 Conclusion

The preceding items do not begin to exhaust the Greco-Roman literary elements encountered in Luke-Acts.¹²⁷ What is abundantly clear is that Luke

¹²⁴ This approach is particularly associated with M. D. Goulder, Charles Talbert and Robert Tannehill. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964); Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986–1990). See also Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 231–35; G. W. Trompf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 121–34; Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 13–38; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:555–74. In an earlier age, this approach was associated with the Tübingen school. See *ibid.*, 1:555–56.

¹²⁵ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 67; Keener, *Acts*, 1:563, 563–73.

¹²⁶ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 184; Keener, *Acts*, 1:258. On speeches in Acts, see especially Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994). See also ch. 6.

¹²⁷ For some others, see Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 79–91; and Howard Clark Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1983), 190–200.

stands out among the Gospel writers as being intimately acquainted with the literary mores of his day. We now consider how this might apply to mimesis.

3.2 *Luke and Imitational Mimesis: The Taxonomy Applied*

We now revisit the five types of imitational mimesis explored above, considering how they might apply to Luke.

3.2.1 Verbal Mimesis

We already looked at Luke's imitation of Septuagintal style in chapter 1. There we saw that the best explanation for the vast majority of Luke's "Septuagintalisms" is that he wished to imitate the Greek of the LXX. This qualifies as a case of verbal mimesis: "Luke's use of biblical Greek to 'give his language a more elevated and dignified style' represents a form of *imitatio* [i.e., *mimesis*] analogous with the use made of the literary classics by Greek and Roman authors."¹²⁸

Eckhard Plümacher has still, to date, given the most thoroughgoing defense of this position. Plümacher investigated the missionary speeches in Acts (2:14–39, 3:12–26, 10:34–43, 13:16–41, and elsewhere), drawing particular attention to the writings of the Greek author Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the Latin authors Livy and Sallust.¹²⁹ Plümacher concluded that Luke's LXX imitation is an example of archaizing: Luke wants to apply to his writing a "patina of a holy primitive time."¹³⁰ This conclusion has been widely followed.¹³¹

This verbal mimesis is not uniform throughout Luke and Acts. It largely, though not exclusively, occurs at the beginnings of both books. As for which portions of the LXX are imitated, Gregory Sterling notes that, in addition to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, Tobit, Daniel, and 1 Maccabees, "a strong case can also be made for 1–14 Kings."¹³² This last statement calls for further elaboration. While this awaits investigation in the following chapter, I note here that, at least at the beginning of Luke-Acts, Luke does not simply imitate

¹²⁸ Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 16. Alexander is quoting Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint."

¹²⁹ Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 36–79.

¹³⁰ "Die Archaisierung dient Lk also wie die LXX-Mimesis dazu, jener Epoch die Patina einer heiligen Urzeit aufzulegen." Ibid., 74. See the similar comment in Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 42.

¹³¹ See, e.g., Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 14–26; Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 28–45; Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts*, 75–80, 82; and Manfred Diefenbach, *Die Komposition des Lukasevangeliums unter Berücksichtigung antiker Rhetorikelemente*, FTS 43 (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1993), 31–32, 39–41, 50n25, 187–89.

¹³² Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 354n214. For a non-exhaustive review of Lukan texts showing direct verbal influence from the LXX, including the SKNA, see Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 31–38.

the “LXX” in general, but 1 Samuel—that is, the SKNA—in particular. In any case, it is clear that Luke, in a manner reminiscent of other Greco-Roman authors, engages in verbal mimesis, imitating the Septuagint in terms of its style, phrasing, and syntax.

3.2.2 Generic Mimesis

There are at least two possibilities for seeing generic mimesis in Luke's writing. The first would be to view the Gospel of Luke as a reworking—and thus, an imitation—of Mark's (and possibly Matthew's) gospels. Whatever a “gospel” may have been understood to be in Luke's day, it is possible that he saw himself as consciously imitating the genre. Second, in the discussion of genre above I used certain generic similarities between the SKNA and Luke-Acts (including the same tension between “biography” and “history”) to suggest Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template. Not only does recognizing this influence help to solve the puzzle of the genre of Luke-Acts, but moreover it can plausibly be labeled an instance of generic mimesis.¹³³

3.2.3 Dispositional Mimesis

I defined dispositional mimesis above as “the imitation of the outlook or attitude of a predecessor.” While this is, by nature, difficult to define, in this regard we revisit another discussion from chapter 1: the question of the cultural influence on Luke's historiography, particularly the influence of the OT. There I mentioned several scholars who have explored the OT roots of Luke's historiography. If these proposals are accepted—and I believe there are grounds for accepting at least portions of them—then here we have a case of dispositional mimesis. That is, Luke has imitated not just language and style of the OT and the DH, but its general outlook and way of writing history as well. We will look at this more closely in chapter 6.

3.2.4 Continuation Mimesis

There are two senses in which continuation mimesis—beginning one work where another left off—could apply to Luke-Acts. First, as many scholars have noted, Luke's decision to imitate the language of the LXX may well indicate his desire to present Luke-Acts as the continuation of the biblical story.¹³⁴ Even

¹³³ A third possible example of generic mimesis would be to view Luke-Acts as an example of “apologetic historiography.” See Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*.

¹³⁴ Noted by many, including Dahl, “The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts,” 152–53; Dahl, *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church*, 88; Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 347–49; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 363; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 81–82; Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 26; Fitzmyer, “The Use of the Old Testament in

if this is so, however, it would represent a far looser notion of “continuation” than that observed in any of the Greco-Roman examples. Still, this is a possible example of continuational mimesis.

Another possibility—intriguing if ultimately speculative—is to consider whether, for Luke, writing *Acts* was an act of continuational mimesis—that is, picking up the story of Jesus where predecessors (such as Mark) had left off. It was perhaps in the knowledge of the venerable Greco-Roman tradition of adding “the next chapter” to a prior historical work that Luke took up pen to continue the story of the things “Jesus began to do and to teach” (*Acts* 1:1).¹³⁵

3.2.5 Structural Mimesis

What of structural mimesis? There are two possibilities. First, in chapter 6 I will argue that Luke structures *Acts* in part around a trio of features that are likewise used to structure part 2 of the SKNA: geography; the sequence of major characters; and speeches, prayers, and summaries (the last three considered together). Any of these—but certainly all of them together—would qualify as a case of structural mimesis.

Second, on the theory proposed herein, Luke’s creation of a two-part work patterned on the two-part SKNA would also be an example of structural mimesis. In chapter two we looked at the bifid structure of the SKNA, as seen in (Hebrew) Samuel-Kings and (Greek) Chronicles. There I noted the condensing, in the LXX, of the longer four-part narrative into a shorter two-part one. Is Luke-Acts, with its similar structure, an example of structural mimesis? Has Luke taken (LXX) Chronicles—a compressed version of Samuel-Kings with an eschatological trajectory—and used it as a basic template for Luke-Acts? Admittedly, structural mimesis is easier to see when the structure is more unique. There is nothing particularly striking about the number two. The inspiration for Josephus’s twenty volumes or Arrian’s seven is far more transparent—all the more so because of the additional verbal mimesis of the titles in both cases. Nevertheless, I believe there is sufficient evidence to make the case for structural mimesis. For, as I will demonstrate in chapter 7, beyond a mere echoed duality, Luke, at particular points in his narrative—specifically at the beginning and ending of both Luke and Acts—writes in such a way as to evoke the corresponding portion of the SKNA. I believe these correspondences, not

Luke-Acts,” 296–97; Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 42; Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 251, 253; Keener, *Acts*, 1:485–87; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 191. See ch. 8.

135 We noted above that continuational mimesis was often part of an attempt to improve upon a predecessor. In this connection it has been argued that Luke’s preface contains an implied claim of remedying predecessors’ shortcomings. In favor, see Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 291. Against, Nolland, *Luke*, 1:6.

simply the fact that both are two-part works, make the identification of structural mimesis more plausible. Thus, we add structural mimesis to our list of Luke's imitation of the LXX.

As for plotline mimesis, it is argued throughout this study that Luke-Acts is an example of an ancient author imitating the basic plotline of an earlier work.¹³⁶

3.3 *Luke's Way of Mimesis*

3.3.1 Luke and Multiple Models

In "The Way of Mimesis" above I pointed out the common use of multiple literary models, as well as the tension between signaling one's indebtedness to a predecessor and creating something new. How might these features apply to Luke? Concerning multiple models, here I mention Luke's profound reliance on Isaiah, as well as the EEN, as important additional sources of inspiration. Many have argued that Isaiah is a major influence in Luke-Acts for everything from the overall plot structure down to the choice of some individual words.¹³⁷ While I do not wish to challenge this conclusion wholesale, the aim throughout this study is to elevate the SKNA to a place of at least equal importance. Where the EEN is concerned, the many narrative parallels noted by Thomas Brodie and others seem too strong to ignore, even if they are not the end of the story. Thus, Luke's use of the SKNA alongside of Isaiah and the EEN would be an instance of his use of multiple literary models.

At this point, I would like to mention one potential objection to my thesis. This is that the proposed imitation of the SKNA would have gone against ancient scribal practices, which as a rule advocated following "one source at a time."¹³⁸ While this objection may be a blow for other theories of mimesis in Luke—such as Thomas Brodie's theory about Luke's use of the EEN as a literary template, for which the proscribed "microconflation" of sources would have been necessary—there are two reasons it does not apply to this thesis. First, the influence I am arguing for is subtle—the type of influence for which recollection, rather than consultation of an actual text, would have been sufficient. Second, I argue that Luke echoes the SKNA most clearly at the beginning and

¹³⁶ On the nature and contested status of plotline mimesis, see above.

¹³⁷ See, e.g., James A. Sanders, "Isaiah in Luke," *Int* 36, no. 2 (April 1982): 144–55; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*; Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*; Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*; and Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the 'Servant'*.

¹³⁸ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 159. On this objection, applied to Brodie's theory of the EEN, see R. A. Derrenbacker, "A Response to Thomas Brodie, 'Luke's Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative,'" in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Joseph Verheyden, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 32–36.

ending points of both Luke and Acts. This means that even if Luke did need to consult a text of Samuel-Kings or Chronicles, he could easily have done so for the relevant portions at his beginnings and endings, and then set it aside to follow a different source thereafter.

3.3.2 Luke and the Art of Mimesis

Earlier I pointed out the tension between acknowledging and appropriating a predecessor's work. Concerning acknowledgment, this was found "not in footnotes ... but by making it clear by the tenor of your writing that you are working in a certain tradition, and are fully aware of the resources of your medium, which you assume also to be known to your readers."¹³⁹ These words could hardly be more fitting to describe the proposed mimesis of the LXX and SKNA. By imitating not only the style of the LXX but also the content of the SKNA—especially at the beginning of this Gospel—Luke "advertises" right out of the gate the "certain tradition" in which he is working.

Concerning appropriation, we also noted that the key was to "make the thing 'your own' ..., and the way to do this is to select, to modify, and at all costs to avoid treading precisely and timidly in the footprints of the man in front."¹⁴⁰ Here too we see a congruence with what is proposed for Luke and the SKNA. Luke's imitation is anything but slavish. Rather, like Seneca's bee, Luke carefully selects from his sources (including not just the SKNA but also Isaiah and others), and through "digestive metamorphosis" transforms them into something utterly new and unique. How much more so, in light of the eschatological age in which Luke finds himself? As one writing at the end of the ages, Luke skillfully transforms the SKNA into the "epitome of a tradition" which is seen, above all, in his new "arrangement" (σύνθεσις, or οἰκονομία) of the old material. By metamorphosing the paradigm of the SKNA in light of the eschatological age, Luke, as Seneca's "last comer," truly finds himself "best placed." Finding the old words of the LXX "at hand," he arranges them differently such that they take on a "new look."¹⁴¹ I propose, therefore, that Luke perfectly fulfills the ideal of mimesis stated above: he shows himself to be simultaneously utterly traditional and radically innovative, infusing the old, old story of the LXX with a "new spirit" in the best tradition of Greco-Roman literature.

¹³⁹ Russell, "De Imitatione," 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Seneca, *Ep.* 79.6. See p. 99. See also Luke 1:3, which evinces Luke's concern for order (καθεξής).

4 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we considered Luke's place within the Greco-Roman literary milieu. We first considered the genre question, identifying Luke-Acts as a Greco-Roman biographical-historical work strongly influenced by the OT and SKNA. In doing this, much light is shed on the riddle of Luke-Acts' genre, and, moreover, we fulfilled a goal laid out in chapter 1: the demonstration of a generic parallel between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. We also looked at the text of Luke-Acts. Regarding mimesis, we saw that this was simply the way that history was written: ancient historians commonly relied on literary models. We looked at five different types of mimesis, as well as the use of multiple models and the all-important balance between imitation and innovation. I also noted several Jewish authors, especially Josephus, who wrote with an eye toward the Hellenistic literary ethos (mimesis included). As for Luke, I presented evidence that he not only knew his craft as a Greco-Roman author, but used mimesis as well. I reviewed his obvious verbal mimesis of the LXX—including the SKNA—and suggested his use of the four other types of mimesis, including structural mimesis of the SKNA. I also suggested his use of multiple literary models, and the way he may have struck the balance between echoing an earlier work and making it his own.

The point of this chapter was to help establish the prior probability of Luke's imitation of the SKNA from the perspective of Greco-Roman literature and culture. In line with the Bayesian methodology outlined in chapter 1, it must be true, for this thesis to be plausible, that Luke was a capable Greco-Roman author who was aware of mimesis. I believe this has been adequately demonstrated. The fact that this mimesis clearly involves the SKNA (at the beginning of the Gospel) is an added "bonus." There is still one additional factor to consider in order establish the prior probability in this study: it must be clear that Luke knew Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Once we establish this at the beginning of the following chapter, the ground will be cleared for investigation of Luke-Acts for evidence that renders the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA likely.

Luke the Chronicler: Fixed Points

When beginning any discourse it seems to me necessary to present an indisputable starting point and a simple and serious explanation.

DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA, *On Nature*



The last two chapters were largely concerned with establishing a reasonably high prior probability for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template—that is, presenting evidence without which the current thesis would be inherently unlikely. Having done so, in this chapter and the following three I will present the evidence that demonstrates the theory's explanatory power. The purpose of this chapter, as part of the overall convergent argument of the thesis, is to establish some “fixed points” with respect to Luke's use of the SKNA, points which can be established with a high degree of plausibility. First, I will demonstrate that Luke was clearly familiar with the books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.¹ Second, I will present three core Lukan themes that are both widely acknowledged as such, and also are identical or equivalent to three major themes in the SKNA: *Davidic Christology* (including the Davidic covenant), *kingdom*, and *temple*. Third, we will look at the oft-recognized echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel in Luke's infancy narrative. Many of the points made in this chapter are presented succinctly with references to further secondary literature. This is because they are generally accepted and uncontroversial, and I wish to be able to develop the points made in the following chapters at greater length.

1 In actuality this point is also part of the prior probability: if Luke shows no clear influence from these books, we have a much harder case to make for subtle influence. Nevertheless, it is included in the present chapter, since here we are looking at evidence found in Luke-Acts, not other sources.

1 Luke's Knowledge of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles

1.1 *Samuel-Kings*

1.1.1 The Elijah-Elisha Material in Luke-Acts

Luke's use of material from the Elijah-Elisha narrative (EEN) was discussed briefly in chapter 1, with reference to the work of Thomas Brodie. Whether or not one accepts Brodie's thesis concerning Luke's use of the EEN as a literary template, his project establishes beyond any serious doubt that Luke was familiar with some material found in Samuel-Kings. Following are the clearest examples:

Luke 4:25–27. After his synagogue sermon at Nazareth, Jesus mentions Elijah and Elisha by name, and clearly refers to incidents narrated in 1 Kgs 17:8–16 and 2 Kgs 5:1–14.

Luke 7:11–17. Jesus's raising of a widow's son has obvious narrative, thematic, and verbal links to Elijah's raising of a widow's son in 1 Kgs 17:8–24. These include the identical phrase *καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ* in Luke 7:15 and 1 Kgs 17:23.²

Luke 9:51–56. At the beginning of the central travel section of Luke's Gospel (9:51–19:27), Jesus's disciples encounter rejection in a Samaritan village, prompting James and John to ask permission to call down fire from heaven to destroy them. This passage contains several allusions to Samuel-Kings, the clearest of which is the request concerning fire, which echoes 2 Kgs 1:10, 12.³

Luke 9:61–62. These verses, unique to Luke, seem to echo 1 Kgs 19:19–21. In both, a potential follower seeks to return home before committing to follow the one who called them (Elijah/Jesus). There is language concerning *plowing* in both (*ἄροτρον* [Luke 9:61]; *ἀροτριᾶω* [1 Kgs 19:19]), as well as the phrase "I will follow you" (*ἀκολουθήσω σοι* [Luke 9:61]; *ἀκολουθήσω ὀπίσω σου* [1 Kgs 19:20]).

In addition to these texts, the name Elijah is mentioned in Luke 1:17, Luke 9:7–9 (cf. Matt 14:1–2; Mark 6:14–16), Luke 9:18–20 (cf. Matt 16:13–15; Mark 8:27–29), and Luke 9:30–33 (cf. Matt 17:3–4; Mark 9:4–5).

1.1.2 Summaries of Israel's Story

Two important texts in Acts—Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2–56 and Paul's sermon in Acts 13:16–41—contain summaries of Israel's history that not only draw

2 An allusion to 2 Kgs 4:32–37 is also possible (Elisha raising a woman's son). Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 134–53.

3 Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπαν· κύριε, θέλεις εἰπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς; (Luke 9:54). The addition of ὡς Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν as in A, C, D and other MSS is not original. Cf. 2 Kgs 1:10 and 1:12: καταβήσεται πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταφάγεται σε καὶ τοὺς πενήκοντά σου καὶ κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς πενήκοντα αὐτοῦ.

from material in Samuel-Kings (and possibly Chronicles), but also present this material as the climax of the story.⁴ Since I will look at both of these speeches in more detail in chapter 6, here I simply highlight the elements drawn from the SKNA.

Stephen's speech in Acts 7 recounts Israel's history using material from Genesis to 1 Kings. Although the speech mainly focuses on Moses (Acts 7:20–44), Stephen brings his summary to a climax with SKNA material: David's desire to build the temple (Acts 7:46; cf. 2 Sam 7:2 // 1 Chr 17:1), and Solomon's construction of it (Acts 7:47; cf. 1 Kgs 6:1–8:66 // 2 Chr 2:1–7:11). While most of the material in the speech seems to come from the DH (including Samuel-Kings), in portraying David as the driving force behind building the temple it may also subtly point to influence from Chronicles: David, in Chronicles, is especially portrayed as the temple builder.⁵

As for Paul's sermon in Acts 13, compared to Stephen's speech the portion concerning Israel's history is much shorter (13:17–22, 36). It also focuses not on Moses, but on David as a means of discussing Jesus's resurrection. Paul briskly summarizes Israel's history from the Exodus to David, climaxing, as in Acts 7, with SKNA material (with Samuel, Saul, and David mentioned by name; Acts 13:20–22). While this recital could have been drawn from material found throughout the books of Exodus to 1 Samuel, it is likely based on 2 Sam 7:6–16 // 1 Chr 17:7–14.⁶ In addition, there is a composite allusion to several OT texts in Acts 13:22, including 1 Sam 13:14.⁷

These two hermeneutically crucial portions of Acts do not merely establish that Luke is aware of SKNA material (my present point), but moreover they indicate that it is absolutely vital to the story he is telling. Even more, they also indicate that Luke, in composing his account of Jesus and the Church, is thinking in terms of an OT plotline that centers around the SKNA.⁸

4 On *summaries of Israel's story* as a category or genre, see Hood and Emerson, "Summaries of Israel's Story," 328–48. Acts 7 and 13 are parade ground examples.

5 See especially 1 Chr 22–29. Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 176–77.

6 Ibid., 178n173; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 150–55. Second Samuel 7 and 1 Chr 17 are themselves summaries of Israel's history. Other than the clear allusion to 1 Sam 13:14 in Acts 13:22, the material in Acts 13 could have come from the LXX of either 2 Sam 7 or 1 Chr 17.

7 The others are Ps 89:20 (88:21 LXX) and Isa 44:28. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 158.

8 While some authors, such as William Kurz and Holly Beers, use Acts 7 and 13 as evidence that Luke's plotline is influenced by an OT plotline, it must be pointed out that the portion of the OT that Luke actually draws from is (in part) the SKNA, not Sirach and Isaiah as Kurz and Beers (respectively) argue. Kurz, "Sirach in Luke-Acts," 314–15; Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the 'Servant'*, 28–29. On "plotline," see ch. 1.

1.1.3 Additional Evidence from Samuel-Kings

There are a few additional ways that Luke demonstrates his knowledge of Samuel-Kings. The prophet Samuel, besides being mentioned in Acts 13:20, is also mentioned in Acts 3:24 as the prophet beginning from whom all the prophets have spoken concerning the last days (cf. 2 Chr 35:18). Solomon, besides being mentioned in Acts 7, is also mentioned in Luke 11:31 (cf. Matt 12:42), Luke 12:27 (cf. Matt 6:29), and twice with reference to “Solomon’s porch” in Acts (3:11; 5:12). Paul’s pronouncement of judgment on Elymas the magician in Acts 13:11 echoes several similar pronouncements in the SKNA, including one having to do with a deceiving voice (1 Kgs 22:23 // 2 Chr 18:22).⁹ The Lukan phrase καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ in Acts 13:11 is one of Luke’s “Septuagintalisms;” ten out of nineteen occurrences in the LXX are in the SKNA (including the two in the parallel texts just mentioned). We will consider the well-known echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke separately below.

I believe that all this evidence is more than enough to establish that Luke was clearly aware of Samuel-Kings. I also noted a few places where Chronicles may be alluded to as well.

1.2 *Chronicles*

While evidence for Luke’s use of Chronicles is not as clear as that for Samuel-Kings, nevertheless several features, taken together, indicate that Luke was aware of the Chronicler’s work. I already noted a few possible allusions to Chronicles in the previous section. In addition to these, influence from Chronicles can also be seen in the following ways.¹⁰

1.2.1 The Blood of Zechariah (Luke 11:51)

It is widely posited that Luke 11:51a (ἀπο αἵματος Ἀβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξύ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου; cf. Matt 23:35) refers to Zechariah son of Jehoiada mentioned in 2 Chr 24:20–22.¹¹ While we cannot be certain that this means that Luke was acquainted with Chronicles

9 Keener, *Acts*, 2:2023.

10 On Chronicles in the NT, see Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 34–72. The index of NA²⁸ lists forty-nine references to 1 and 2 Chronicles, nineteen of which (39%) are in Luke and Acts.

11 See especially *ibid.*, 44–54. See also Peels, “The Blood ‘from Abel to Zechariah,’” 595, 598–99; and Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HThKNT 3, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1984–1994), 2:325. For other options on the identity of Zechariah, see Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 45–48.

firsthand, slight differences between his account and Matthew's may point in this direction.¹²

1.2.2 Zechariah and Stephen (Acts 7:57–60)

Luke likely makes one additional use of the story of Zechariah's death in 2 Chr 24:20–22: a parallel with the death of Stephen in Acts 7:57–60.¹³ Both figures are marked by the activity of the Spirit (2 Chr 24:20; Acts 6:3, 5; 7:55), both are killed for criticism of Judah's leaders in connection with the temple (2 Chr 24:21; Acts 7:46–50), and both are stoned to death (2 Chr 24:21; Acts 7:58–60). A crucial point of hermeneutically rich contrast is that whereas Zechariah cries out, as he dies, "May Yahweh see and avenge" (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה וְיִנָּקָם; 2 Chr 24:22), Stephen follows the example of Jesus in crying out, "Lord, do not hold this sin against them" (κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑμῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν; Acts 7:60; cf. Luke 23:34).¹⁴

1.2.3 The Good Samaritan

The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–35) is likely influenced by 2 Chr 28:8–15.¹⁵ In Chronicles, the prophet Oded warns the inhabitants of Samaria to treat prisoners of war from Judah with kindness in order to avoid incurring God's wrath. The parallels between this story and Luke 10:30–35 are impressive. On a general level, in both there are Samaritans who act with unexpected kindness toward Judeans and Jerusalemites (2 Chr 28:10; Luke 10:30). There are also some specific parallels: the giving of wounds (πληγῇ; 2 Chr 28:5; Luke 10:30), confiscation of goods (2 Chr 28:8; Luke 10:30), nakedness (2 Chr 28:15; Luke 10:30), care given with oil (2 Chr 28:15; Luke 10:34), the weak carried on beasts (2 Chr 28:15; Luke 10:34), and mention of Jericho (2 Chr 28:15; Luke 10:34).

12 The omission of υἱοῦ Βαραχίου in Luke 11:51 compared to Matt 23:35 may reflect a conscious effort to conform the reference more strictly to Chronicles, on the assumption of Luke's knowledge of the account in Matthew. The same applies to Luke's identification of Zechariah as a *prophet* (Luke 11:50; cf. 2 Chr 24:19). On the other hand, this would not apply if Luke obtained this material from another source (e.g., Q).

13 Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 57–59.

14 Luke 23:34a is textually uncertain but likely original. Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, BECNT, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1994–1996), 2:1867–68; Keener, *Acts*, 2:1460.

15 Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 59–65; F. Scott Spencer, "2 Chronicles 28:8–15 and the Parable of the Good Samaritan," *WTJ* 46 (1984): 317–49; Craig A. Evans, "Luke's Good Samaritan and the Chronicler's Good Samaritans," in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels: Volume 3: The Gospel of Luke*, LNTS 376 (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 32–42.

"The multiplicity and specificity of the connections," as F. Scott Spencer concludes, "are just too strong to ignore."¹⁶

1.2.4 Luke's Genealogy (Luke 3:23–38)

We cannot know for certain if the genealogy was Luke's literary creation, but even if it was not he was responsible for its final contents, and its placement and presence reveal Lukan theology.¹⁷ The genealogy shows influence from Chronicles in several ways. First, some of the names were likely taken from the genealogies in 1 Chr 1–3. Perhaps most clearly, the mention of Nathan, not Solomon, as David's royal descendant, points to the influence of Chronicles, for Nathan is likewise listed as David's descendant in 1 Chr 3:5 // 14:4 (cf. 2 Sam 5:14; Zech 12:12). While other names in the genealogy could have been derived equally well from other portions of the OT, such as Gen 5, 10, 11, and Ruth 4:18–22, the presence of all of them in one place (as in 1 Chron 1–3) suggests that Chronicles is the likely source.¹⁸ Second, the order of Luke's

16 Spencer, "Good Samaritan," 321. Two commentators who have at least noticed the parallel are Bock, *Luke*, 2:1029; and I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 445.

17 The consensus seems to be against viewing it as Luke's. See, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 491; François Bovon, *Luke*, Hermenia, trans. James Crouch, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002–2012), 1:134; and Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 210–12. In favor, see Michael Wolter, *The Gospel According to Luke: Volume 1 (Luke 1–9:50)*, trans. Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 183–84. Perhaps some of it was traditional and some composed by Luke. Nolland, *Luke*, 1:168. On Luke's genealogy generally, in addition to the commentaries see Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, SNTSMS 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 229–52; and Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 209–15. For the most detailed discussion of the lexical issues with respect to the names, see Bock, *Luke*, 1:353–60; and Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 162–65. Often cited, although highly speculative, is G. Kuhn, "Die Geschlechtsregister Jesu bei Lukas und Matthäus nach ihrer Herkunft untersucht," *ZNW* 22 (1923): 206–28.

18 The following analysis of the relevant names in the genealogy proceeds in order from Luke 3:26–38: (1) In Luke 3:26–27, Kuhn contends that some of the names from Semein to Neri are based on 1 Chr 3:17–24; this is fanciful. Kuhn, "Die Geschlechtsregister Jesu," 212–14. (2) Zerubbabel as the son of Shealtiel (Luke 3:27c–27d; cf. Matt 1:12) is attested in the LXX (B) of 1 Chr 3:19 (whereas the Hebrew has זְרֻבָבֶל). (3) In Luke 3:32–34 most of the names from Jesse to Nahor "may be found conveniently at 1 Chr 2:1–15," Nolland, *Luke*, 1:172. A potential problem is Luke 3:32d (Σαλᾶ [NA²⁸]), but this matches 1 Chr 2:11 LXX if the variant Σαλμών found in many witnesses for Luke 3:32 is accepted as original, as argued by Bock, *Luke*, 357, 360–61. (4) The text at 3:33, with the names Ἀδμίν to Ἀρνί (NA²⁸; several MSS add Ἀρᾶμ [cf. KJV]), is too corrupt to draw firm conclusions from; so is the corresponding text in 1 Chr 2:9–10 LXX. (5) The names in Luke 3:35 are

genealogy indicates influence from Chronicles. While reverse-order genealogies are rare in Jewish literature, a conspicuous exception is 1 Chr 6:33–38.¹⁹ Third, ending the list with Adam also indicates influence from Chronicles. The Gospel of Luke is the only other book in the Old or New Testament featuring a genealogy that stretches from Adam down to the author's present day.²⁰ Thus, taken as a convergent argument, it seems that Chronicles has influenced Luke's genealogy.

There are two further issues to mention. First, why does Luke list Nathan, not Solomon, as David's immediate successor (Luke 3:31)? The likely reason, commonly noted, is that Luke wishes to distance Jesus from the besmirched royal line from Solomon on.²¹ Stated positively, "the guiding interest is the establishment of a direct connection between Jesus and David."²² This seemingly small detail yields an important implication for the present study, since it provides implicit support for the idea that Luke is reading SKNA 2 with an overall negative trajectory from Solomon to the exile. In other words, the likely reason that none of the kings descending from Solomon are mentioned as David's heirs is that they were (on the whole) failed kings. As I will argue in later chapters, not only is Jesus David's true, faithful heir, but so are the disciples of Jesus through their vice-regency with him.

Second, why is the genealogy placed here in Luke's narrative, rather than at the beginning?²³ Although various solutions to this mystery have been proposed,²⁴ the present thesis offers a new and satisfying explanation. I would like to suggest that if Luke were following the interwoven storyline of SKNA 1 (particularly, at this point, Samuel and 1 Chronicles), then the present location would be expected and natural. As we saw in chapter 2, Samuel-Kings

found in 1 Chr 1:18–26. (6) Καϊνάν (or Καϊνάμ) in Luke 3:36a is likely drawn from the LXX (A) of 1 Chr 1:8 (Καϊνάν). (7) The rest of the names in Luke 3:36–38 can be found in 1 Chr 1:1–4, 17, 24.

19 Nolland, *Luke*, 1:168; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 211.

20 Longman III and Dillard, *Introduction to the OT*, 190. Longman and Dillard mistakenly name Matthew, not Luke, as the NT text corresponding to Chronicles on this point. Matthew's genealogy, however, is also influenced by Chronicles. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 34.

21 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 501. See especially Jer 22:30, which is a prophecy that Jehoiachin will not have a descendant on the throne.

22 Wolter, *Luke 1–9:50*, 183. This same "jump" from David to Jesus is observed in Paul's synagogue sermon in Acts 13:22–23.

23 While this feature is not unheard of in genealogies, it is unusual. James R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Luke*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 121.

24 For various options, see Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 209.

and Chronicles tended to be read together in the Second Temple period, with Samuel-Kings viewed as the primary framework and Chronicles filling in the gaps. If Luke were reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles this way, and modeling Luke-Acts on it as I argue, then this would lead us to expect precisely what we find in Luke. That is, we would expect the narrative to echo the beginning of 1 Samuel in some way (just as Luke does in Luke 1–2), followed by some attempt to echo the beginning of Chronicles with its genealogies. I would like to suggest that the surprising fact of the location of Luke's genealogy would be a matter of course if he were modeling his narrative on the SKNA. The theory of Luke's use of the SKNA explains the unexpected location of the genealogy and helps clear up a long-standing problem.

Additional points of influence from Chronicles could be mentioned.²⁵ However, although the evidence for Chronicles is not as strong as that for Samuel-Kings, nevertheless the cumulative force of these allusions and possible quotations should place Luke's general awareness of Chronicles beyond serious doubt.

1.3 *Luke's Knowledge of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: Conclusion*

The evidence presented above indicates that Luke was aware of both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as he composed Luke-Acts. This is the sixth and final point which contributes, according to my methodology, to a reasonably high Bayesian prior probability that Luke would have used the SKNA as a literary template in composing Luke-Acts. Now that this has been established, the way is open to explore evidence which points toward the *likelihood* that he would have done so.²⁶ I will, in the remainder of this chapter and the following three, present twelve points of data which, considered together as part of a convergent argument, demonstrate the *explanatory power* of the thesis. Some of these will involve "surprising facts" which, if the present thesis is correct, would be expected and natural (or, in Charles Sanders Peirce's idiom, "a matter of course").

Before going on, however, I would like to draw out one implication of the evidence just presented: when considering aspects of Luke-Acts that are normally said to be influenced by Samuel-Kings, more attention should be paid to Chronicles. Especially in light of what we saw in chapter 2—that

25 See Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles*, 66–67. For other possible influence of Chronicles at the beginning of Luke's Gospel, see the section below on the Infancy Narrative.

26 I remind the reader at this point that "likelihood" and "predictive power" are technical terms in Bayes' Theorem. See ch. 1.

reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles synoptically was common (perhaps even standard) in the Second Temple period—it is quite likely that Luke read Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in this way, and that this exerts an influence on what we actually see throughout Luke-Acts. While this may not apply to every such case, there are many for which it likely does. I therefore agree with F. Scott Spencer, who concludes that “the bias of scholars cataloguing the NT usage of the OT against Chronicles in favor of Samuel-Kings where they parallel should be forever abandoned.”²⁷

2 Core SKNA Themes in Luke-Acts

The purpose of this section is to present three core themes of Luke-Acts that are equivalent to themes found in the SKNA. Of course, the mere presence of shared themes—even prominent ones—does not guarantee literary influence. For this reason, I will also demonstrate that these shared prominent themes are either directly drawn from the SKNA (as in the theme of David), or else are used in such similar ways in both narratives that the SKNA is Luke’s likely inspiration. We begin with the clearest example of this: Luke’s Davidic Christology, rooted in multiple ways to the OT story of David.

2.1 *Davidic Christology*

Richard B. Hays rightly observes that “the effort to find a single controlling Christological title or motif can only occlude the full range of Luke’s presentation of Jesus.”²⁸ His method is far too intricate for that. Nevertheless, some motifs or “strands” of Luke’s rich portrait of Christ are “thicker” than others. Among these, *Jesus as the Davidic Messiah* is paramount.²⁹

²⁷ Spencer, “Good Samaritan,” 348.

²⁸ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 224 (Cf. 243, 275). See also Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 209–10, 216–17, 223. H. Douglas Buckwalter’s survey of proposals for Luke’s Christology contains eighteen (!) options. H. Douglas Buckwalter, *The Character and Purpose of Luke’s Christology*, SNTSMS 89 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6–24.

²⁹ Scholars emphasizing Davidic Christology in Luke-Acts include Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*; Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant: A Canonical Approach to the Fulfillment of God’s Saving Promises* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 218–230, 447n1; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 230–37; Wright, *NTPG*, 378–82; and Isaac Oliver, *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 41–70. For still others, see the sources mentioned in Strauss,

Explicit references to David in connection with Jesus occur in Luke 1, 2, 3, 6, 18, and 20, and in Acts 1, 2, 4, 7, 13, and 15.³⁰ Overall, the purpose of these references is “to legitimize Jesus as the *Davidic* Messiah.”³¹ This can be seen, first, in straightforward references to Jesus as David’s descendant and heir,³² and second, in the connection made between David and ὁ χριστός.³³ Besides χριστός, however, other titles or motifs also serve to identify Jesus with David, including “Son of the Most High,” “Savior,” “Son of God,” and “servant.”³⁴

Specific references to David and titles alone hardly do full justice to Luke’s rich Davidic portrait of Jesus, however. As we will see further below, Luke’s entire infancy narrative (Luke 1–2), not just isolated Davidic tidbits in it, underscores in an emphatic way Luke’s Davidic Christology by echoing the beginning of 1 Samuel. But an emphasis on David hardly fades after Luke 2. It is, rather, woven tightly into the fabric of the entire Gospel. For example, Jesus’s Nazareth sermon (Luke 4:16–27), containing as it does allusions to the Isaianic servant (in part a royal-Davidic figure), exerts a controlling influence on the

Davidic Messiah, 15–31. Oddly, H. Douglas Buckwalter does not include David (though he does include *the Messiah*) as one of his eighteen proposed controlling Christologies. Buckwalter, *The Character and Purpose of Luke’s Christology*, 6–24. On Davidic Christology as one of the “thicker strands,” see Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 225.

30 Luke 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4, 11; 3:31; 6:3–4; 18:38–39; 20:41–44; Acts 1:16; 2:25–31, 34–35; 4:25–26; 7:45–46; 13:22–23, 34–36; 15:16.

31 Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 239; emphasis original. The single exception is Acts 7:45–46, which identifies Jesus as the temple builder.

32 Luke 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4, 11; 3:31; 18:38–39; Acts 2:30; 13:22–23.

33 See especially Luke 2:11; 3:15 (cf. 3:31); 20:41–44; Acts 2:29–35; 4:25–26. The title (or name) χριστός, the second most common title used by Luke, continues all throughout Luke-Acts. The Book of Acts concludes with Paul’s unhindered teaching concerning τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Acts 28:31).

34 For Son of the Most High, see Luke 1:32. For Savior, see Luke 2:11; Acts 13:23. As for Son of God, while I agree with those (e.g., Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 201–2; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 207–8) who argue that Son of God in Luke-Acts generally emphasizes Jesus’s unique relationship with God (see, e.g., Luke 1:35; 10:22; 22:70 [cf. 22:69]; Acts 9:20), nevertheless this cannot be divorced from the motif of Jesus as the Davidic Messiah (see, e.g., Luke 1:32 [cf. 1:35]; 4:41 [cf. Mark 3:11–12]; Acts 13:33). See Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 93–94, 218–19. As with so many other themes in Luke-Acts, Luke’s complexity is on full display here. Jesus’s identity as the Isaianic servant (דָּבָר; παῖς/δούλος) is similarly complex; suffice it to say that a royal-Davidic association is an important component of it. See the careful discussion in *ibid.*, 239–49. For “servant” (παῖς) with a clear connection to both David and Jesus in Luke-Acts, see Luke 1:69; Acts 4:25, 27. Although δούλος is not used unambiguously to connect Jesus to David in Luke-Acts, see Acts 4:29, which uses δούλος in reference to the disciples, closely tied to Jesus’ identity as the Davidic servant (παῖς; 4:25, 27, 30).

remainder of the Gospel.³⁵ In addition, the Lukan motif of the shepherd-king is likely based on the portrait of David in the OT.³⁶ Moreover, the institution narrative (Luke 22:14–30) is based heavily on identification of Jesus as the Davidic King.³⁷ As for Acts, in Acts 2, 7, 13, and 15—all crucial moments in Luke's narrative—the portrayal of Jesus as the royal Davidic Messiah is front-and-center.

Here we must also surely include Luke's many references to the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17). While the Davidic covenant was already mentioned above with reference to Acts 7 and Acts 13, it is also alluded to elsewhere, including in the annunciation of Jesus's birth (Luke 1:32–33) and Peter's Pentecost sermon in Acts 2:30.³⁸

Thus it should be beyond doubt that Luke's Christology is heavily, though not monolithically, Davidic.³⁹ While it would be rash to conclude that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are the sole source of Luke's portrait of David, significant plot parallels with those OT books, to be explored immediately below, should lead us to conclude that the SKNA is a prime source of inspiration.⁴⁰ If so, this means that we should count Luke's strong Davidic Christology as a fixed point of contact between the SKNA and Luke-Acts.

2.1.1 Samuel and Luke: Plot Parallels

Two scholars, N. T. Wright and Yuzura Miura, have argued that not only Luke's Christology in general, but also the entire plot structure of the Gospel of Luke is modeled on the story of David as presented mainly in 1 Samuel.⁴¹ These parallels are expressed in Table 4.1.⁴²

35 On Peter's confession of Jesus as *χριστός* (Luke 9:21) as the climax of the section beginning with the Nazareth sermon in Luke 4, see *ibid.*, 250–55. On connections between Luke 4 and Luke 24, see *ibid.*, 255–58.

36 E.g., Luke 19:10. See especially Sarah Harris, *The Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative*, LNTS 558 (London: T&T Clark, 2016).

37 Demonstrated ably by Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 221–37. See ch. 5.

38 On Luke 1:32–33, see Raymond Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 310–11; and Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 88–89. On Peter's sermon, see ch. 7.

39 “From birth to baptism, to passion, resurrection, and ascension, Luke presents Jesus as the Davidic anointed one sent to rescue and rule over Israel.” Oliver, *Luke's Jewish Eschatology*, 42. Emphasis original.

40 This is not to discount other points of influence, especially the Davidic Psalms. However the Psalms too are also intrinsically related to the David of the historical narratives.

41 Wright, *NTPG*, 379–81; Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 5–6, 237–41.

42 Based on Wright, *NTPG*, 379–80; and Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 5–6, 237–38 (with minor modifications).

TABLE 4.1 Plot parallels between 1 Samuel and Luke

1 Samuel	Gospel of Luke
Samuel (forerunner of David) is born (1 Sam 1–3)	John (forerunner of Jesus) is born (Luke 1–2) ^a
– Born to an infertile woman (1 Sam 1:2)	– Born to an infertile woman (Luke 1:7)
– Celebration with a triumphant song (1 Sam 2:1–10)	– Celebration with a triumphant song (Luke 1:46–56, 68–79)
– A message of judgment for Israel (1 Sam 3:1–18)	– A message of judgment for Israel (Luke 3:7–9)
– The boy grows and the LORD is with him (1 Sam 2:26; 3:19)	– The boy grows and the LORD is with him (Luke 1:66, 80)
David is anointed (1 Sam 16:13)	Jesus is anointed at his baptism (Luke 3:21–33)
David battles Goliath (1 Sam 17:1–52)	Jesus battles Satan (Luke 4:1–13)
David returns from battle; is both welcomed and rejected (1 Sam 18:6–9)	Jesus returns from battle; is both welcomed and rejected (Luke 4:4–30)
David's legal authority demonstrated (1 Sam 21:2–10)	Jesus's legal authority demonstrated (Luke 6:1–5)
David as righteous sufferer (1 Sam 21:2–22:2)	Jesus as righteous sufferer (Luke 6:1–19)
David wanders with his followers (1 Sam 19–30)	Jesus travels with his followers (Luke 9:51–19:28)
“Jesus’ events—the death, resurrection and exaltation—(Luke 23:35–43; 24:26, 44–49; Acts 2:25–36; 4:24–30) are described in ‘Davidic categories’” ^b	
“The establishment of the true Davidic kingdom after Jesus’ death and resurrection is understood in terms of the establishment of the Davidic kingdom in Solomon after David’s death (1 Kgs 4:21–34; 10:1–29; Pss 72; 89:19–37 [MT]).” ^c	

a Although John is also explicitly compared to Elijah (Luke 1:17), Luke typically employs multiple overlapping typologies. See ch. 1.
b Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 6.
c Ibid.

Miura's analysis of David in Luke-Acts is devoted in part to investigating Wright's proposed parallels. He affirms many of them and I adopt his conclusions here, as indicated in the chart above.⁴³ The implication of these parallels—that Luke has essentially absorbed and transformed the plot structure of the Book of Samuel in the Gospel of Luke—can hardly be underestimated for this study. In fact it goes a long way toward establishing it, at least as concerns the Gospel of Luke. For it seems that Luke has, in fact, been influenced by the SKNA in a profound and fundamental way, basing his very plot structure on Israel's earlier history. I would like to propose however, that we can go even further than Wright and Miura have done.

In the first place, it should be noted that the Wright/Miura parallels essentially end at 1 Sam 30 // Luke 19:28, with the exception of vague (if important) connections to "Davidic categories" and the like thereafter. I believe that this is, once again, an instance where an accurate grasp of how Samuel-Kings was read in Luke's day can help tremendously. For if we assume that Luke was not only guided by the narrative in 1 Samuel, but also understood it in light of the relevant parallel portions of Chronicles, then further intriguing plot parallels present themselves. Table 4.2 tries to make this clear.

These parallels pick up where Wright's and Miura's leave off in 1 Sam 30 and Luke 19:28, and continue through the end of SKNA 1 and Luke. Like Wright's and Miura's, they are not exact at every point.⁴⁴ But the important point is that, to the extent that the Wright/Miura construal yields explanatory power, bringing Chronicles into the picture yields *greater* explanatory power. For we can

43 Miura sees no parallel between Jesus and David's battle with Goliath and subsequent return and rejection. On the other hand, he also advances Wright's argument in some ways; e.g., by providing support for the parallel between David's wanderings (1 Sam 19–30) and Luke's central section (Luke 9:51–19:28). He does this by pointing out the influence of the Sermon on the Plain (6:20–49) on the entire travel section, which serves to characterize Jesus's wandering community in similar terms as David's. *Ibid.*, 218–24. As far as I have been able to determine, Wright and Miura are the only two scholars who have attempted to demonstrate such a thoroughgoing use of Samuel by Luke on the level of plot.

44 Additionally, it would be foolish to insist that the framework proposed here is the "one grid to rule them all" through which to drive the entirety of David/Jesus typology in Luke or the Gospels in general. For, in line with what I wrote in chapter one regarding the flexible, multivalent nature of Lukan typology (and typology in general), there might well be other typological correspondences observable between the two figures. For example, David's defeat of Goliath might be compared to Jesus's defeat of Satan on the cross, while David's enthronement in Jerusalem might well find a typological fulfillment in Jesus's enthronement in the heavenly Jerusalem.

TABLE 4.2 Additional plot parallels between SKNA 1 and Luke

SKNA 1	Gospel of Luke
David is proclaimed king and enters Jerusalem (1 Chr 11:1–8 [cf. 2 Sam 2:1–5:10])	Jesus is proclaimed king and enters Jerusalem ^a (Luke 19:28–40)
David institutes new worship (1 Chr 13:1–24)	Jesus purifies worship ^b (Luke 19:45–48)
David defeats his enemies (1 Chr 14–18)	Jesus defeats Satan ^c (Luke 22:3–24:38)
Davidic covenant instituted (2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17)	Davidic covenant granted to the apostles and disciples ^d (Luke 22:14–30)
The king suffers (2 Sam 15–17)	The king suffers ^e (Luke 22:31–23:56)
The king is restored (2 Sam 18–19)	The king rises again (Luke 24:1–12)
David prepares for temple building and kingdom succession (1 Chr 22–29)	Jesus prepares for temple building and kingdom succession ^f (Luke 24:25–27; 44–49; Acts 1:4–8)
The people praise God; David departs (i.e., dies) (1 Chr 29:20–30)	Jesus departs (i.e., ascends); the people praise God (Luke 24:50–53)

a Although Luke's concern, as I mention below, is to portray Jesus as entering the *temple*, this clearly is connected to entering the city (see Luke 19:41–44). Pace Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 75.

b See the section on “temple” in Luke-Acts below.

c Pace Conzelmann, this had not occurred decisively at the temptation. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 28. See especially Luke 22:3, 53. Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 518.

d See ch. 5.

e Parallels between David's sufferings while fleeing Jerusalem and Jesus's passion have long been noted. See Robert Barron, *2 Samuel*, BrTCB (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2015), 142; Clowney, *The Unfolding Mystery*, 166–67.

f This point and the following will be developed at length in ch. 7.

see that the parallel does not simply fade out or become hazy at the triumphal entry, but in fact it is carried through to the end with remarkable precision.⁴⁵ All things being equal, we might expect an author to finish what they started. In line with the methodology I outlined in chapter 1, the explanatory power of viewing the plot sequence of Luke in light of the similar order of events found in SKNA 1 (including Chronicles) should be considered evidence that Luke has been influenced not simply by Samuel-Kings, but by *the SKNA*: Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, read together.

There is a second way that this study extends the Wright/Miura parallels: by extending them into the Book of Acts. In presenting the initial set of parallels, N. T. Wright correctly concludes that “Luke is telling the story of Jesus *as* the fulfillment, the completion, of the story of David and his kingdom.”⁴⁶ What has not been recognized up to this point, however, is not only the critical role of Chronicles in this extended Davidic echo, but moreover the fact that Acts *completes the story of David*. This is not done in some vague or general way, but by portraying the apostles and disciples of Jesus as the typological heirs of David’s kingdom, just as Solomon and the kings were in SKNA 2. It will be the burden of chapters 5–7 to demonstrate this. For now, however, I would like to present this complete set of plot parallels as a significant piece of evidence toward the theory of Luke’s use of the SKNA as a fundamental literary template.

2.2 *The Kingdom in Luke-Acts*

The kingdom of God is a core theme of Luke-Acts.⁴⁷ The word βασιλεία with reference to God’s or Jesus’s kingdom occurs about forty-eight times throughout the books.⁴⁸ Not only is the phrase common, but it is found in many important summaries and turning points throughout the narrative.⁴⁹ It also clearly

45 While some of these parallels could, of course, apply to any of the Gospels, not all can. In particular, only Luke simultaneously emphasizes Jesus’s purifying role in the temple, portrays the Davidic covenant as being granted to his followers, and ends his narrative in the temple, as in the SKNA.

46 Wright, *NTPG*, 381; emphasis original.

47 On the *kingdom* theme and its importance in Luke-Acts, see Robert F. O’Toole, SJ, “The Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts,” in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, ed. Wendell Willis (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 147–62; Joel B. Green, “Kingdom of God/Heaven,” *DJG* (2013), 476–79; Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 127–78, 205–53; and Christian Blumenthal, *Basileia bei Lukas*, HBS 84 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2016).

48 See data in Green, “Kingdom of God/Heaven,” 476–77. Green notes that although Matthew uses kingdom language more than Luke, Luke “draws on a wider vocabulary” (*ibid.*; 476).

49 E.g., Luke 4:43; 8:1, 10; 9:2, 11, 60; 10:9; 16:16; Acts 1:3, 6; 8:12; 14:22; 19:8; 20:25; 28:23, 31. Keener, *Acts*, 1:662.

functions as an *inclusio* for the Book of Acts (Acts 1:3; 28:31); the same can possibly be said for Luke-Acts as a whole (Luke 4:43; Cf. Luke 1:32–33).⁵⁰

This theme (like any) is far more important than can be indicated simply by counting references to the main terms. Throughout Luke and Acts, the kingdom is linked to various other narrative elements and motifs, including healings, exorcisms, and table fellowship.⁵¹ It is also, of course, intimately linked to the person and mission of Jesus himself: Jesus is the Davidic *king*.⁵² Moreover, although this aspect of the kingdom is not often considered, there is likely a *spatial* dimension of the kingdom motif in Luke-Acts, linked particularly to the ongoing presence of the ascended Jesus and the exercise of royal rule.⁵³

We saw, in chapter 2, that the kingdom theme is prominent in the SKNA. Here I would like to clarify the relationship between the two works on this point. First, we saw in chapter 2 that God's kingdom in the SKNA is inextricably linked to David and his descendants: the kingdom of David is the kingdom of Yahweh. The same must surely be said concerning the kingdom in Luke-Acts: "for Luke, Jesus' kingdom is the kingdom of David, restored and transformed."⁵⁴

But we can put a finer point on this kingdom connection between the SKNA and Luke-Acts, particularly where Chronicles is concerned. In the first place, not only is kingdom one of the major themes of Chronicles, but, just as in Luke-Acts, mention of the kingdom in Chronicles tends to occur at crucial points throughout the narrative.⁵⁵ Additionally, just as Acts (part 2 of Luke's work) is framed by an *inclusio* concerning the kingdom, so is 2 Chronicles, part 2 of the SKNA (2 Chr 1:1; 36:23). These two details are significant. For they demonstrate not only that both works (Chronicles and Luke-Acts) share the same

50 For Acts, see *ibid.*, 1:662, 4:3772–73. For Luke, see Blumenthal, *Basileia bei Lukas*, 13.

51 On healings and exorcisms, see Luke 4:38–43; 9:2, 11; 10:8–9; 11:20; 13:10–18; Acts 8:7, 12; 10:38. Green, "Kingdom of God/Heaven," 477; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 194–95, 428–29. Regarding table fellowship, see Luke 9:10–17; 12:22–32; 13:23–30; 14:1–15; Acts 1:3–8. Green, "Kingdom of God/Heaven," 478. On table fellowship in Luke-Acts, see ch. 5. For some other indirect connections to the kingdom motif, see Dan G. McCartney, "Ecce Homo: The Coming of the Kingdom as the Restoration of Human Vicegerency," *WTJ* 56 (1994): 9–11.

52 O'Toole, "The Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts," 149–51; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 219–21; Green, "Kingdom of God/Heaven," 477–48; Blumenthal, *Basileia bei Lukas*, 128–154, 335–36.

53 See especially Blumenthal, *Basileia bei Lukas*, 39–42, 253–320. On the idea of kingdom as *sacred space* in general, see Karen J. Wenell, "Kingdom, Not Kingly Rule: Assessing the Kingdom of God as Sacred Space," *BibInt* 25, no. 2 (2017): 206–33. On Luke's "theological geography" and its relationship to the kingdom of God in Acts, see ch. 6. See also Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*.

54 Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 218. See the similar remark by Sanders, "Isaiah in Luke," 147. I will defend and develop this point in the following chapter.

55 1 Chr 10:14; 16:31; 17:11, 14; 22:10; 28:5, 7; 29:11, 23, 25; 2 Chr 1:1; 7:18; 9:8; 13:5, 8; 36:23. Selman, "Kingdom of God," 167.

theme, but also that they use it *in similar structural ways*. In both, it appears at critical turning points, and it also forms an *inclusio* for part 2. Therefore, although the kingdom theme is found all throughout the Second Temple Jewish literature, we should view the strikingly similar emphasis on kingdom in both works as evidence that Luke has used the SKNA (especially, here, Chronicles) as a major influence on his work.⁵⁶ Thus we add the theme of kingdom as fixed point of contact between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. As with others, the influence of Chronicles has been underappreciated up to this point.

2.3 Temple

It is widely acknowledged that the Jerusalem temple is another central concern of Luke.⁵⁷ As with the kingdom theme, the temple in Luke-Acts functions as an *inclusio*: the Gospel of Luke begins and ends there (Luke 1:8; 24:53). Luke's temptation account, in contrast to Matthew's, climaxes with Jesus being tempted to throw himself down from the pinnacle of the temple (Luke 4:1–13; cf. Matt 4:1–11). Jesus's triumphal entry and his days spent prior to his crucifixion also emphasize the temple, especially when compared to Matthew and Mark. For one thing, Luke emphasizes Jesus's entering the *temple*, rather than simply the city of Jerusalem (Luke 19:45; cf. Matt 21:10; Mark 11:11).⁵⁸ For another, Luke's abbreviated account of Jesus's temple action (Luke 19:45–46) seems to make this less a *judgment* (as in Matthew or Mark) and more of a true *cleansing*.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Luke portrays all of Jesus's teaching, including the

56 We can perhaps go a bit further. For we noted in ch. 2 that the use of βασιλεία in 2 Chr 36:23 is an instance of *ironic reversal*: the kingdom there is Cyrus's, not Solomon's as in 2 Chr 1:1 (the first element of the *inclusio*). In the same way it would be insensitive to miss the note of irony implied in Luke's use of βασιλεία in Acts 28:31: Paul preaches the kingdom of God "unhindered" (ἄκωλύτως), even while a prisoner in the heart of the Roman Empire.

57 On the temple theme and its importance in Luke-Acts, see Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age*; N. H. Taylor, "The Jerusalem Temple in Luke-Acts," *HvTSt* 60 (2004): 459–85, <https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/505>; Ron C. Fay, "The Narrative Function of the Temple in Luke-Acts," *TJ* n.s. 27, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 255–70; Andrés García Serrano, "The Jerusalem Temple According to Luke," *EstBib* 71, no. 1 (2013): 37–56; and Steve Smith, *The Fate of the Jerusalem Temple in Luke-Acts: An Intertextual Approach to Jesus' Laments Over Jerusalem and Stephen's Speech*, LNTS 553 (London: T&T Clark, 2017). For the lexical data, see Taylor, "Jerusalem Temple," 462–71; and Serrano, "Jerusalem Temple," 39–40.

58 Serrano, "Jerusalem Temple," 43–44; Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 75. As mentioned above, this does not mean that entering the city is not implied. The emphasis, however, is on the temple.

59 For example, Luke does not relate the temple action to the cursing of the fig tree (cf. Matt 21:18–22 // Mark 11:12–14). He also seems to downplay the disruption of worship compared to Matthew and Mark (Luke 19:45; cf. Matt 21:12; Mark 11:15d). Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age*, 56–57. For a different view, see Smith, *The Fate of the Jerusalem Temple*, 77.

apocalyptic discourse, as taking place in the temple, thus highlighting its importance (Luke 21:5–36; cf. Matt 24:1–51; Mark 13:1–37).⁶⁰ Finally, just as Luke's Gospel closes with the disciples remaining in the temple διὰ παντός (Luke 24:53), so the Book of Acts opens on the same note, with much of Acts 1–7 taking place at or near the temple.

In order to further appreciate the importance of the temple for Luke we must grasp the tight correlation between the temple and Jerusalem: temple and city are intimately connected.⁶¹ This means that Luke's general concern for Jerusalem includes a concern for the temple. It also may explain Luke's unique portrayal of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus as taking place in and around Jerusalem, the Holy City. As for Acts, although the temple itself is mentioned only infrequently after Acts 7 (see especially Acts 21:26–30; 22:17; 24:6, 11–12, 18; 25:8; 26:21), Jerusalem still continues to feature prominently at certain strategic points (see especially Acts 15:2–29; 19:21; 20:16, 22; 21:4–23:31). Nevertheless, the temple's prominence clearly wanes as Acts goes on. This likely stems from Luke's sense of redemptive-historical progression: once the gospel goes to the gentiles, the temple simply cannot remain the center of theological gravity that it was.⁶²

Finally, the theme of *temple* in Luke-Acts is larger than just the theme of *the temple* (i.e., the Jerusalem temple), or even the city of Jerusalem. In chapter 7 I will argue that Luke intends to portray Pentecost as the descent of the end-time temple. This means that for Luke, the living community of the apostles and disciples becomes the true temple. It is the presence and power of Jesus in the midst of the community that comes to represent the new focal point for God's presence on earth. This helps to explain, at least in part, the decreasing importance of the Jerusalem temple as Acts goes on. Especially as the followers of Jesus begin to move out following Stephen's death, it is the temple-presence of Jesus that goes with them.⁶³

As for Luke and the SKNA, the centrality of the temple for the narrative and theology of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles was already pointed out in chapter 2, as well as the way that Chronicles amplifies the importance of the temple compared to Samuel-Kings. In addition to the temple's prominence in both works,

60 Serrano, "Jerusalem Temple," 42. See also Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 77.

61 Demonstrated most thoroughly in Michael Bachmann, *Jerusalem und der Tempel: die geographisch-theologischen Elemente in der lukanischen Sicht des jüdischen Kultzentrums* BWANT 109 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980). See especially 132–170. On the importance of Jerusalem in Luke's "theological geography," see ch. 6.

62 Thus, Luke's overall attitude toward the Jerusalem temple is ambivalent. It is mostly positive though with some muted criticism as well (e.g. in Stephen's speech; Acts 7:2–53, esp. 48–50). See Serrano, "Jerusalem Temple," 53–55. On Stephen's speech, see ch. 6.

63 Suggested, though not stated in these terms, by Taylor, "Jerusalem Temple," 474, 479–81.

the theme is also used in similar ways. Once again there is a shared *inclusio*. Like the Gospel of Luke, the Book of Samuel begins and ends in a context of temple worship (1 Sam 1:3–18 [Shiloh]; 2 Sam 24:25 [David's altar]), while 1 Chronicles ends in Jerusalem, with extended preparations for the new temple (1 Chr 22–29).⁶⁴ Furthermore, the “main event” at the beginning of Kings and 2 Chronicles is the building and dedication of the temple. Since Luke, as will be demonstrated in chapter 7, portrays Pentecost as the descent of the end-time temple, this means that Acts matches the SKNA in this respect: the beginnings of part 2 of both works are concerned with a new temple. In light of these many similarities, we should number Luke's pronounced concern for issues related to the temple as another fixed point of contact between the SKNA and Luke-Acts.⁶⁵

2.4 *Three Lukan Themes: Conclusion*

The themes of the *Davidic king*, *kingdom*, and *temple* are prominent in Luke-Acts, prominent in the SKNA, and are used in similar ways in both. These themes represent three fixed points in favor of the theory that Luke used the SKNA as a literary template. There is one further point: as in Second Temple Judaism in general, and the SKNA in particular, in Luke-Acts the themes are interrelated.⁶⁶

3 The Infancy Narrative

The final fixed point to be established with respect to Luke's use of the SKNA is the echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel in Luke's infancy narrative (Luke 1:5–2:52).⁶⁷ While we already looked at some of these parallels above in

64 On the cultic significance of Shiloh and its relationship to the later narrative in 1–2 Samuel, see Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 54–55.

65 As with *David* and *kingdom*, we must not discount the possibility of influence from other intermediate traditions with respect to *temple*. Nevertheless, the shared prominence of the theme at certain key points should lead us to conclude that the SKNA is at least a significant source of influence for Luke.

66 For the connection between the kingdom theme and Jesus as the Davidic king, see above. For Jesus and temple, in addition to what has already been mentioned, see, e.g., Luke 2:25–50; 4:9–12 (cf. Matt 4:5–7); 6:1–5 (cf. Matt 12:1–8); 22:29–30; 24:46–53; Acts 1:3–4; 5:20 (cf. 5:31), 42; cf. Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:6. One text that ties together the themes of the Davidic king, the kingdom, and the temple is Acts 15:16–18 (cf. Amos 9:11–12). See ch. 6. On the interrelatedness of the themes in the SKNA and Second Temple Judaism, see ch. 2.

67 For issues pertaining to the infancy narratives, in addition to the commentaries see especially Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 233–499; and Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76–129. For the language of “echo,” see ch. 1. Alternately, this could be called a *plot parallel*.

the section on David, here we add to them while drawing some crucial implications for this thesis.

After the heavily Hellenistic style of Luke's prologue, the OT flavor of the infancy narrative is palpable. This influence extends far beyond words, phrases, and style, however, to include multiple allusions to OT figures, scenes, and themes. Although this entire section is undoubtedly a rich tapestry woven from nearly every strand of the OT, to fail to recognize 1 Samuel as one of the thickest strands would be to miss the forest for the trees.⁶⁸

First, at the outset, we encounter an infertile woman graciously provided with a son, just as Hannah was (Luke 1:7, 13–17, 24–25, 36–37, 57; cf. 1 Sam 1:2, 5–20). This is a well-established OT type-scene.⁶⁹ But while there are several OT precedents for John's miraculous birth, nevertheless precise similarities in detail and order of events point toward 1 Samuel as a primary model. For example, only Luke and 1 Samuel situate the woman's unlikely pregnancy in the context of a temple scene (1 Sam 1:3–18; Luke 1:8–23).⁷⁰ In addition, two summary statements concerning John (Luke 1:66, 80) echo similar ones concerning Samuel (1 Sam 3:19; 2:26).⁷¹ But above all, the prominence of the Samuel-John parallelism is indicated by the figures whom these characters precede and introduce: David and Jesus. Thus, "with a few strokes of his pen, [Luke] has said as clearly as he can that John the Baptist is playing Samuel to Jesus' David."⁷² I will return to this point below.

68 On 1 Samuel in the infancy narrative, see Wright, *NTPG*, 378–80; Eric R. Burrows, *The Gospel of the Infancy and Other Biblical Essays* (London: Burns Oats & Washbourne, 1945), 1–58; Salvador Muñoz Iglesias, "Géneros literarios en los Evangelios," *EstBib* 13 (1954): 300–8; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 309; and Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, Sacra Pagina 3 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 34–35. While it is possible that Luke used sources for part or all of the infancy narrative, he is clearly responsible for its final contents. Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 309; Wolter, *Luke 1–9*:50, 90.

69 Besides Samuel, commonly noted are parallels with the birth of Isaac (Gen 11:30; 15:2–3; 16:16–19; 18:10–15; 21:1–7) and Samson (Judg 13:1–24). See e.g., Bock, *Luke*, 1:102; Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 127, 59; and Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 52–58.

70 Although 1 Samuel begins in Shiloh, not the Jerusalem temple, both are cultic centers. Firth, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 54–55.

71 Luke 1:66 has καὶ γὰρ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ (many MSS omit γὰρ); cf. 1 Sam 3:19 LXX^B: καὶ ἦν κύριος μετ' αὐτοῦ. Luke 1:80 has τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠύξανεν καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι; cf. 1 Sam 2:26 LXX^B: καὶ τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουὴλ ἐπορεύετο, καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μετὰ κυρίου καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων. There are some minor textual variants for 1 Sam 2:26. This verse may also be echoed in Luke 2:52 with reference to Jesus. See below.

72 Wright, *NTPG*, 380. See also Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 325–26; and Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel*, 58–59. The fact that John is also explicitly compared to Elijah (Luke 1:17) does not negate a simultaneous typological correspondence with Samuel. As I argued in ch. 1, Luke regularly employs multiple, overlapping typologies (e.g., Jesus in parallel with David, Elijah, Elisha, and Moses).

Second, as is nearly universally noted, Mary's Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) echoes Hannah's song in 1 Sam 2:1–10.⁷³ As with the previous example, we must be cautious about asserting only one OT model.⁷⁴ But here too, as with the birth of John, the OT example of Hannah is clearly preeminent. As Joseph Fitzmyer summarizes, "both Mary and Hannah are women who praise God for the action that he has taken in choosing them to be mothers of instruments of his salvific intervention in Israel's history. The general pattern and purpose of the canticles is the same, and many of the details of the Magnificat echo those of the canticle of Hannah."⁷⁵ It is not that there is a strict correspondence between every detail of 1 Samuel and Luke, for it is Mary who, like Hannah, praises God in the Gospel, rather than the formerly infertile Elizabeth. Instead, "it is the rule that Luke's dependence on 1 Sam 1–3 is material, verbal, literary; not formal, ideal."⁷⁶ In any case, the many verbal echoes establish the main point: Luke has relied on 1 Samuel in composing the beginning of Luke.

In addition to these points of contact between 1 Samuel and Luke, there are many others besides.⁷⁷ There is also, as already mentioned, an intricate web of references to many other portions of the OT such that we cannot insist on only one OT model. But as we get lost in the individual strands of this web, examining each of the many OT echoes spun throughout Luke 1:5–2:52, we may be in danger of missing the overall pattern that connects Luke to 1 Samuel: the birth of the Davidic king.

73 For parallels and analysis, see Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 1896), 30–31; Paul Bemile, *The Magnificat within the Context and Framework of Lukan Theology*, RST 34 (Bern: Lang, 1986), 79–84; Roland Meynet, "Dieu donne son Nom à Jésus: Analyse rhétorique de Lc 1,26–56 et de 1 Sam 2,1–10," *Bib* 66 (1985): 58–61; and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, *Magnifikat und Benediktus: Die ältesten Zeugnisse der judenchristlichen Tradition von der Geburt des Messias*, WUNT 2/90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 8–16. Specific parallels include Luke 1:46b–47 // 1 Sam 2:1, Luke 1:48a // 1 Sam 1:11, Luke 1:49b // 1 Sam 2:2, and Luke 1:52–53 // 1 Sam 2:5, 7–8.

74 In addition to 1 Samuel, Mittmann-Richert notes echoes from Genesis, Sirach, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Malachi, Isaiah, and especially the Psalms. Mittmann-Richert, *Magnifikat und Benediktus*, 21. Paul Bemile also notes connections to the Song of Asaph (1 Chr 16:8–36). Bemile, *Magnificat*, 85–86.

75 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 369. See also Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 196–98.

76 Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 10. While some have argued that the Magnificat is to be understood as sung by Elizabeth, as indicated by a few witnesses for Luke 1:46a, this is unlikely. Wolter, *Luke 1–9:50*, 92–93. Nevertheless, the textual variants likely reflect recognition of the Samuel-Luke parallel from an early date. Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 11.

77 For the most complete analysis, see Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 6–27. Burrows argues that the parallels indicate the use of a Hebrew form of 1 Samuel as well as non-Lukan authorship for the original infancy narrative. The parallels hold even if these conclusions are not accepted. Burrows helpfully labels Luke's method "imitative historiography." Ibid., 1. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 309, 335, 446.

3.1 *Luke, Samuel, and the Davidic King*

In 1 Samuel, the connection between the birth of Samuel and David is first seen at the conclusion of Hannah's song: everything is pointing toward the LORD's exaltation of "the horn of his anointed" (וַיִּרָם קֶרֶן מְשִׁיחוֹ; ὑψώσῃ κέρας χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ; 1 Sam 2:10). This detail concerning χριστός provides a firm point of contact between the OT and Luke, because it indicates that the births of Samuel and John anticipate the same thing: the appearance of an anointed Davidic king.⁷⁸

We can say more. David Strauss, in particular, has argued convincingly that the "controlling Christology" of the entire Lukan infancy narrative is Davidic-messianic, seen not merely in a few references and allusions scattered here and there, but rather all throughout.⁷⁹ Several of these allusions and themes are linked, moreover, to other songs in the Book of Samuel besides Hannah's, demonstrating further links between Samuel and Luke.⁸⁰ Thus, the entire thrust of Luke's infancy narrative is to point to Jesus as David's true, anointed heir. The many ways in which this portrayal is grounded in 1 Samuel should remove any doubt as to the preeminence of the echo of that book at the beginning of Luke's Gospel.

Two final features link the two narratives together. First, the opening chapters of both Samuel and Luke introduce themes that remain central throughout their entire works.⁸¹ Second, Luke ends his infancy narrative with one of the clearest echoes of 1 Samuel. Luke 2:52 records that Jesus προέκοπτεν ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις. The echo of 1 Sam 2:21 and 26 seems clear enough.⁸² However, the significance of such an echo at the conclusion of the narrative is fully appreciated only when we grasp the importance, in antiquity, of beginnings and endings of narratives. While this awaits fuller

78 Mittmann-Richert, *Magnifikat und Benediktus*, 21–22.

79 Strauss points out that three out of five "major christological sections are explicitly Davidic-messianic, and the fourth and fifth are implicitly so." Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 124. See pp. 86–124 for the entire argument.

80 In particular, 2 Sam 22 and 23. See Miura, *David in Luke-Acts*, 204–5, 209.

81 On the programmatic importance of the opening chapters of Samuel, see Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold*, 173–83. For Luke, see Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76–129. The similarities on this point between the Magnificat and Hannah's song are noted, among others, by Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 68.

82 1 Sam 2:21c reads ἐμεγαλύνθη τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουὴλ ἐνώπιον κυρίου, while 1 Sam 2:26 LXX^B reads καὶ τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουὴλ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μετὰ κυρίου καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων. See Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 27; and Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 446. As mentioned above, 1 Sam 2:26 may also be echoed with reference to John the Baptist in Luke 1:80. That Luke would typologically connect one OT figure with two NT figures by means of an intertextual allusion should be unsurprising, since he also does the same thing explicitly: both John and Jesus are explicitly compared to Elijah (Luke 1:17; 4:25–26).

exploration in ch. 7, for now we note that beginnings and endings in ancient literature were paramount for signaling an author's overall literary aims. By ending his infancy narrative with a clear allusion to 1 Samuel, Luke is signaling his main inspiration for the entire section, and perhaps for his work as a whole. As Burrows starkly puts it, Luke "inaugurated his work with a long imitation of the opening verses of 1 Sam 1–3. He ends it with an implicit quotation that cannot be ignored. It is not his fault if we do not recognize the Samuel-motif in his infancy gospel."⁸³ We should therefore consider Luke's use of a plot parallel with 1 Samuel at the beginning of his Gospel as one of the strongest fixed points in his use of the SKNA.

3.2 *Chronicles*

As in other places throughout this study, we must also adequately appreciate the role of Chronicles in the infancy narrative. The Magnificat, in addition to echoing 1 Samuel, also contains allusions to the Song of Asaph (1 Chr 16:8–36).⁸⁴ In addition, Thomas Brodie has argued that all of Luke 1:1–4:22a is a systematic rewriting of 1 Chr 1–2 Chr 9.⁸⁵ As with Brodie's work on the EEN, we can appreciate a more modest point even if we do not accept all of his conclusions here. Since Luke, as a Second Temple period author, would likely have read Samuel-Kings in concert with Chronicles, it is reasonable to see influence from Chronicles in subtle ways at the beginning of Luke, even if not in all the ways Brodie proposes. In any case, the burden of this study is to establish that what Brodie avers wrongly for the beginning of Luke is true for Luke-Acts as a whole: "What Luke seems to have done is to take Chronicles to its fulfillment."⁸⁶

Finally, one other way in which influence from Chronicles is likely seen in the infancy narrative is in the presence of not just one, but several hymns.⁸⁷ We noted in chapter 2 that many Second Temple period texts that rewrite Samuel-Kings tend to include more hymns than the source, likely as an attempt to conform more closely to Chronicles. It is not at all unreasonable to

83 Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 27. For Burrows, "Luke" in this context means the original author of the infancy gospel.

84 Bemile, *Magnificat*, 85–86.

85 Brodie, "A New Temple and a New Law."

86 Ibid., 23. Tellingly, Brodie admits that the fall of the kingdom (2 Chr 10–36) cannot find a home in his construal (ibid., 22). It can in this one.

87 The Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55), the Benedictus (1:67–79), the Gloria in Excelsis (2:13–14), and the Nunc Dimittis (2:28–32). On the hymns in the infancy narrative, see Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 346–55; and Stephen Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning and Significance*, JSNTSup 9 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985). Brown notes that the hymns in the infancy narrative serve the same function as the speeches in Acts. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 347.

suppose that Luke's inclusion of several hymns, in a section otherwise based on 1 Samuel, may be due to subtle influence of Chronicles on the parallel narrative in Samuel-Kings. Here once again the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA explains a surprising feature of Luke-Acts.

3.3 *Implications*

There are several implications of acknowledging the parallel with the SKNA at the beginning of Luke.

First, as many have noted, the general purpose of Luke's imitation of the OT at the beginning of his Gospel is doubtless to show continuity between the story he is telling and the story of the OT: "this story is the climax toward which Israel's history has been building all along."⁸⁸ The intention all throughout this study is to put a finer point on this crucial observation.

Second, in chapter 1 I discussed the work of Dennis MacDonald, who argued for Luke's imitation of Homer in portions of Acts (and the Gospel of Mark). I noted that MacDonald's thesis is open to serious criticism on the grounds that, while he argues for Luke's *subtle* use of Homer, he can adduce no *clear* case of Luke "advertising" his source.⁸⁹ I believe the use made of the beginning of Samuel at the beginning of Luke demonstrates precisely what MacDonald's thesis fails to do: *the clear advertising of his source*. By echoing the beginning of the SKNA at the beginning of his two-part work, Luke is alerting his readers to one of his main literary models.⁹⁰ Furthermore, rightfully acknowledging the significance of the SKNA echo at the outset of the Gospel should serve to bring a note of corrective concerning the influence of *Isaiah* on Luke-Acts. Studies that emphasize (rightfully) the importance of *Isaiah* in Luke-Acts often begin with Jesus's Nazareth sermon in Luke 4:16–30, demonstrating the ways that that passage is programmatic for Luke's entire narrative.⁹¹ But as true as that is, and as central as *Isaiah* unquestionably is to Luke-Acts, needless to say *Isaiah* is not prominent at the all-important beginning of his narrative. The SKNA is.

88 Wright, *NTPG*, 380. For a similar conclusion, see Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 86; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 200; and Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 52.

89 This point is from Sandnes, "Imitatio Homeri?," 725–31. He notes "It becomes dubious to claim conscious imitation if no advertising is found in the text." Ibid., 727.

90 Rebecca Denova, among others, recognizes this feature, noting a similarity with 1 Maccabees: "Just as David is mentioned at the beginning of the story to establish the ideal type for Judas and his brothers, so Luke presents the primary identification and understanding of Jesus at the beginning of his story in the Gospel." Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 112–13.

91 See, e.g., Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 70–84; and Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 126–54.

Third, in connection with this parallel, a critical methodological point must be established. I have just adduced evidence in favor of Luke's influence from the SKNA in the infancy narrative, which I believe is compelling as a cumulative case. But when the details are pushed concerning precisely where this influence lies, the tale nearly evaporates in the telling. We have a word or phrase here; an order of events there. It is hard to pinpoint precisely where the influence is felt, yet taken on the whole it seems wise to conclude that it exists. That is, this is evidence of Luke's meticulous *subtlety* with regard to his OT sources.⁹² At this point, a methodological Rubicon is crossed. We can reject the influence of the SKNA on the beginning of Luke. But if we acknowledge it, as seems reasonable, then we are, *ipso facto*, tacitly admitting a whole methodology; a way of reading Luke that ought to be consistently applied. In other words, if we are willing to see Luke's dependence on the SKNA at the beginning of the Gospel, then we should be open to seeing it in other places as well, and on substantially similar terms. This will be important especially in chapter 7 as we look at the ending of Luke, and at the beginning and ending of Acts. I will argue that there too Luke echoes the SKNA in ways that are quite similar to Luke 1, and similarly subtle. As with the echo at the beginning of Luke, the other echoes cannot be proven with certainty. In fact, I suppose that even if many were to undertake a careful study of all the subtleties Luke accomplishes, from the beginning and in order, even then we could not achieve full assurance. That is not how subtlety works. Some might be convinced; others would not. In many cases we simply cannot be certain if an author intended to allude to another text.

4 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented some of the clearest evidence for the influence of the SKNA on Luke-Acts. First, I demonstrated that Luke is clearly aware of both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles through various textual echoes. Second, we looked at three prominent themes in Luke-Acts: Jesus as the Davidic king; kingdom; and temple, all of which match equivalent emphases in the SKNA. Third, we explored the well-known echo of 1 Sam 1–3 in Luke 1–2, showing that this

92 Subtlety as a feature of Luke's use of Scripture is widely acknowledged. See, e.g., Keener, *Acts*, 1:478–81, 569; Parsons, *Luke*, 38; C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 32–34; Michael E. Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts*, BZNW 138 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 200; and Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 193–94, 243, 276.

amounts to Luke “advertising” one of his main OT sources. I also considered the works of N. T. Wright and Yuzuru Miura who have argued for extended plot parallels between 1 Samuel and Luke all throughout his Gospel. I pointed out that, by rightfully acknowledging the importance of reading the parallel portions of 1 Chronicles in concert with 1–2 Samuel, further plot parallels can be detected which have great explanatory power. Finally, I made some observations concerning Luke’s subtle use of Scripture that ought to be borne in mind in any consideration of his OT influence. In light of these correspondences, I believe that what Eric R. Burrows writes concerning the infancy narrative ought to be applied to Luke-Acts as a whole:

It will appear that Luke, who could have found no form for the history of a sacred infancy either in the ordinary gospel-form ... or in Greek literature, sought a model and an appropriate style in the infancy stories of the Old Testament, and found in 1 Sam 1–3 a narrative providentially suited to his purpose, and so was able to give his history the atmosphere of sacred scripture.⁹³

My contention is that Luke’s “imitative historiography” extends far beyond Luke 1–2, and even beyond the end of Luke. I will attempt to demonstrate this in the following chapters.

93 Burrows, *Gospel of the Infancy*, 2.

The Disciples: Heirs of the Davidic Kingdom

For he will honor the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom,
freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the
twisted.... He will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead
live; he will proclaim good news to the poor.

4Q521¹



In the previous chapter we established several fixed points for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template. One of these is Luke's strong Davidic Christology, which, it was argued, extends to discernible plot parallels between David in SKNA 1 and Jesus in the Gospel of Luke. It is a contention of this study that the parallels between the SKNA and Luke-Acts are not confined to the Gospel of Luke, but rather continue throughout Acts as well.

This chapter constitutes a core part of this argument. In it we will see that Luke portrays the apostles and disciples as heirs of the kingdom of David. If this is so, then it would be possible to argue that Luke has drawn upon the kings of SKNA 2—the heirs of the original Davidic kingdom—as a general literary model for his portrayal of the disciples. However, even more can be said. In this chapter we will also see that Luke, in ways that are unique among the evangelists, characterizes the disciples as *royal* figures. That is, not only by presenting Jesus's followers as David's heirs, but also through the employment of various means of characterization, Luke presents the followers of Jesus—apostles and disciples; men and women alike—as possessing a royal status tied to the identity of Jesus; they are “*kings in the King*.”² If this is so, then it seems even more likely that Luke may have been influenced by the SKNA as a literary template.

The chapter contains two main sections. The first will examine a few key texts—especially Luke 22:14–30 and Acts 15:16–18—that portray Jesus's followers as heirs of David's kingdom. The second surveys Luke-Acts with a view

¹ Translation from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

² On the theme of vice-regency (or *vicegerency*) in the Bible, see especially McCartney, “*Ecce Homo*,” 1–21. On issues of vice-regency and gender, see below.

toward noting various means of characterization Luke employs in order to portray the disciples in royal terms.

1 Heirs of the Davidic Kingdom

1.1 *The Institution Narrative*

Although all the evangelists recount Jesus's last meal with his disciples before his crucifixion, only Luke explicitly portrays the institution narrative (Luke 22:14–30) as a conferral of the Davidic covenant and kingdom onto the apostles.³ The core verses that indicate this are Luke 22:29–30.

1.1.1 The Context of Luke 22:29–30

Luke 22:29–30 occurs in the final section of Luke's Gospel (Luke 19:28–24:53), where Luke's Davidic Christology and the theme of the kingdom are especially prominent.⁴ The more immediate context of the institution narrative also features an emphasis on David and the kingdom. Regarding David, this is seen especially in the motif of *table fellowship*, which has specific links to David in the OT.⁵ As for the kingdom, this is seen in Jesus's declaration that he will not partake of the Passover again until the kingdom of God (Luke 22:16, 18). While Matthew and Mark include this statement as well, Luke places it at the beginning of the institution narrative, where Jesus says it twice (cf. Matt 26:29; Mark 14:25). In addition, Luke places the discussion concerning "who is greatest" during this section rather than earlier in his Gospel (Luke 22:24–27; cf. Matt 20:24–28 // Mark 10:41–45). Uniquely for Luke, the foil for appropriate apostolic conduct is not *rulers* in general here, as in Matthew and Mark (ἄρχοντες/οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν; Matt 20:25 // Mark 10:42), but rather *kings* of the gentiles (βασιλεῖς; Luke 22:25). These two features serve to frame the entire institution narrative in terms of the kingdom.⁶

Another unique feature of the institution narrative is Luke's explicit association of the Passover meal (especially the cup) with the new covenant

3 For this section I am indebted to the work of Scott Hahn, especially *Kinship by Covenant*, 217–37. Some differences with Hahn are expressed below.

4 An emphasis on David is seen, e.g., in Luke 18:38–39 ("Jesus, Son of David"; cf. Matt 20:30–31); and 20:41–44 (the Christ and David's son; cf. Matt 22:41–46; Mark 12:35–37). For still other Davidic connections, see *ibid.*, 222. Regarding the kingdom, see e.g., Luke 19:11–27 (cf. Matt 25:14–30; Mark 13:34–37); 19:38 cf. (Matt 21:9; Mark 11:9); 21:31 (cf. Matt 24:33; Mark 13:29); 23:37, 42.

5 See below.

6 Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 224, 226.

(Luke 22:20; cf. Jer 31:31–34). While this association is, of course, a strong inference from Matthew and Mark (τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα μου τῆς διαθήκης; Matt 26:28 // Mark 14:24), it is even clearer for Luke with the inclusion of the word καινή (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου; Luke 22:20).⁷ As for the nature of this association, Jesus takes an element from the Passover meal and transforms it into a covenant ratification ceremony inaugurating the new covenant.⁸ As explained below, the new covenant is also related to the Davidic covenant. All three themes just mentioned—David, kingdom, and covenant—converge in Luke 22:29–30.

1.1.2 Covenanting David's Kingdom

In Luke 22:29 Jesus declares that he grants a kingdom to the apostles: καὶ γὰρ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου βασιλείαν.⁹ The English versions and commentators translate διατίθεμαι variously: *assign* (ESV, RSV, Marshall), *appoint* (KJV), *grant* (NASB), *confer* (NIV, Nolland), and the like. The verb has a broad range of meaning and certainly any of these senses is possible. With any of them the implication is clear: Jesus is bestowing a kingdom upon the apostles. We can, however, be more precise concerning the meaning here. For, in the vast majority of cases in the LXX, διατίθημι is used in covenantal contexts, most often translating the Hebrew כרת, meaning to “cut” a covenant.¹⁰ This background, combined with the previous mention of the new covenant (22:20), makes it highly likely that the same sense is meant here. Furthermore, since Luke, earlier in his Gospel, uses δίδωμι with βασιλεία to mean more generally to “give” or “grant” a kingdom (Luke 12:32), we should conclude that his decision to use διατίθεμαι here is intentional, likely in order to make the covenantal implication clear. These factors, along with the Davidic resonances

7 Many MSS of Matthew (but not Mark) have καινή as well, but it is missing in many others and is easily explained by harmonization with Luke and/or 1 Cor 11:25.

8 Nolland, *Luke*, 3:1044; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 226; Bovon, *Luke*, 3:159–60, 163. Technically this is a proleptic enactment (or announcement) of the once-for-all covenant institution that would soon take place on the cross (see Heb 9:15–17, 24–28; 10:10–12; 12:24). Paul R. Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath: Covenant in God's Unfolding Purpose*, NSBT 23 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 184. Pace Hahn, this understanding should mitigate strongly against seeing the Eucharist itself as a sacrifice. See Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 327–31.

9 The witnesses A, Θ, 579, and sy^h insert διαθήκην after ὑμῖν.

10 Of 82 occurrences of διατίθημι in the middle voice in the LXX, all but 3 have to do with the establishment of a covenant. Furthermore, while διατίθημι can bear the sense of “bequeath” (as in a will), this cannot be the sense here, since Jesus says that his action is directly connected with God's prior action, for whom the idea of a will is ruled out. M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Luc*, Études Bibliques (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1948), 551.

of the entire passage, should lead us to more accurately render the verb as *covenant*: “I *covenant* to you a kingdom, as my father *covenanted* one to me.”¹¹ Jesus, therefore, grants a covenant unto the apostles at the Last Supper, which includes the granting of a kingdom. But what is the nature of this kingdom and this covenant?

The kingdom that is being covenanted should be understood as the kingdom of David, originally established through the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17).¹² First, the close connection between Davidic Christology and the theme of the kingdom all throughout Luke-Acts should lead us to expect that the kingdom mentioned here is the restored Davidic kingdom. Second, the Davidic covenant, throughout the OT, is especially associated with the establishment of a kingdom, and vice-versa.¹³ Third, the mention of *thrones* (22:30) suggests a link with the Davidic kingdom and covenant, since many references to that covenant in the OT contain the word “throne” as a metonymy or symbol for David’s kingdom or the continuation of his line.¹⁴ Fourth, as shown below, the mention of “eating and drinking” in 22:30 indicates another likely connection to the Davidic kingdom and covenant. Fifth, mention of *ὁ πατήρ μου* in 22:29 invokes similar familial language contained in the Davidic covenant

11 Hahn’s translation. Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 227 (emphasis added). For a similar understanding, see Edwards, *Luke*, 635. Marshall is also open to this possibility. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 816. J. Priest, though cautious, considers it “worthy of continued reflection.” Priest, “A Note on the Messianic Banquet,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 230. The only clear ancient example of διατίθεμαι in the middle voice with βασιλεία as the direct object, as in Luke 22:29, is Josephus, *Ant.* 13.407, where it has the sense of “confer” or “entrust” a kingdom, not “covenant.” Nevertheless, the sense of “covenant” is likely meant in Luke 22:29, notwithstanding that βασιλεία, not διαθήκη, is the direct object of the verb. Additional support for this conclusion is found in the MSS A, θ, 579, and sy^h, all of which insert διαθήκην after διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν, as well as MS 579 which has διαθήκην in place of βασιλείαν. These variants indicate that, for at least some ancient scribes, the covenantal connection was clear.

12 For some of the following points, see Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 227–28.

13 As Scott Hahn observes, “The only kingdom established on the basis of a covenant in Scripture is the kingdom of David.” *Ibid.*, 227. See, e.g., 2 Sam 7:8–16 // 1 Chr 17:7–14; Ps 89:3–4, 28–37; 2 Chr 13:5; 21:7; Isa 55:3; Jer 33:21; Ezek 37:24–26. While the word “covenant” is not found in the key text of 2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17, other texts (especially Ps 89:3–4 and Jer 33:21) make it clear that the establishment of a covenant is in view in 2 Sam 7. For the multifold associations between David and kingdom in the Second Temple Jewish literature, see ch. 2. For other kingdom-David connections in Luke-Acts, especially in Acts 15, see below.

14 See, e.g., 2 Sam 3:10; 7:13, 16; 1 Kgs 1:37, 47; 2:12, 33, 45; 8:25; 9:5; 1 Chr 17:12, 14; 22:10; 2 Chr 7:18; Ps 89:4, 36; 132:11–12; Isa 9:7; Jer 17:25; 33:21; Sir 47:11. See especially Ps 122:5 (121:5 LXX), which connects thrones of the house of David with the idea of judgment.

(2 Sam 7:14 // 1 Chr 17:13). These features together indicate that the kingdom that is covenanted by Jesus in Luke 22:29 is none other than the restored Davidic kingdom, and the covenant is the renewed Davidic covenant.¹⁵ As for the timing of this conferral, the present tense verb used in Luke 22:29 (διατίθεμαι) indicates that the kingdom is covenanted to the apostles in the present, not in the future.¹⁶

The institution narrative then, uniquely for Luke, involves the covenanting of the Davidic kingdom to the apostles. The implication is crucial for this thesis: the apostles are *heirs of the Davidic kingdom*. As Scott Hahn explains, “the Apostles, like Christ, are now heirs of the kingdom of David (v. 29a). Because they are heirs, they have filial privilege: they may eat at the royal table (v. 30b). The Davidic traditions form the context for the logic of the entire transaction, and it is clear that the Apostles have become heirs of the kingdom and covenant of David.”¹⁷ Thus, the institution narrative—especially Luke 22:29–30—indicates that Luke characterizes the apostles as heirs of the kingdom and covenant of David. If this is correct, then it indicates that Luke views the apostles in a role analogous to David’s heirs: the kings of the *SKNA*. Although more will be said on this below, we must first consider an important question: what about other followers of Jesus besides the apostles?

15 As for the new covenant, which Jesus clearly inaugurates in Luke 22:20, there is no conflict between claiming that Jesus inaugurates the new covenant and also that he bestows the Davidic covenant onto the apostles, for the new covenant fulfills and completes *all* of the divine-human covenants in the Bible, including the Davidic covenant. For a similar understanding, see Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath*, 140–44, 161–62, 170, 180. See also Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 226. For Davidic connections in the wider context of Jer 31:31–34 (the core OT new covenant text), see Jer 30:9; 33:14–26. Furthermore, while the Davidic covenant primarily points to *one* son of David whom God would raise up after him, this promise cannot be entirely separated from the succession of kings which the fulfillment of the promise entailed; nor can it be separated from the promise of the Abrahamic covenant, which stated that *kings* would come from Abraham. See Gen 17:6, 16; 35:11.

16 Bock, *Luke*, 2:1740. Pace Nolland, *Luke*, 3:1066. Although the Greek present tense can certainly indicate future action (the so-called “futuristic present”), this is generally restricted to verbs whose lexical meaning includes an idea of anticipation, such as ἔρχομαι and βαίνω. Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 535–37. For further comments on the timing of the apostles’ vice-regency, see below.

17 Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 230. Agreeing with the conclusion regarding the apostles’ designated royal authority, if not the extent of the Davidic connections, is Nolland, *Luke*, 3:1068; Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 818; Bock, *Luke*, 2:1739–40; Lagrange, *Saint Luc*, 552; and Bovon, *Luke*, 3:175–76. As we shall see below, the major adjustment made to Hahn’s conclusion is to properly understand the role of *all* disciples of Jesus—not just the apostles—in this conferral of the Davidic kingdom.

1.2 Acts 15:16–18: *The Restoration of David's Royal Line*

The status of all Jesus's followers—not just apostles—as heirs of the Davidic kingdom can be observed in the Book of Acts, especially in the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in James's speech in Acts 15:16–18.¹⁸ This citation forms the climax of James's judgment that the gentiles are worthy of full inclusion into the people of God apart from becoming Jewish. The issues surrounding this citation are legion, especially Luke's use of a modified LXX version of Amos which gives a different slant to the passage compared to the Hebrew.¹⁹ But what is important at present is Luke's hermeneutical and theological use of the passage, specifically what is meant by the “fallen tent of David” in v. 16 (τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν), and how this relates to the inclusion of the gentiles. There are three main options, all somewhat related.

First, the “tent of David” may refer to the body of the Messiah, and thus the “rebuilding” (ἀνοικοδομήσω; v. 16) may refer (at least in part) to Jesus's resurrection.²⁰ This makes good sense of Luke's general identification of Jesus with David throughout Luke-Acts, as well as the continual emphasis on the resurrection as the fulfillment of the promises to David (e.g., Acts 2:25–35; 13:33–36). This view also finds some support in the use made of Amos 9:11–12 in 4Q174, in which the “fallen tent” of Amos 9:11 is explicitly identified with an *individual*: the “branch of David” (צמח דוד [line 11]; cf. Isa 4:2) who will rise (קום, עמד) at the end of days (lines 11–13). References to 2 Sam 7:10–14 make it clear that

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- 18 On this citation in general, see Richard Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles (Acts 15:13–21),” in *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington, 111 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 154–84; W. Edward Glenny, “The Septuagint and Apostolic Hermeneutics: Amos 9 in Acts 15,” *BBR* 22, no. 1 (2012): 1–26; Marshall, “Acts,” 589–93; Keener, *Acts*, 3:2245–58; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 185–92; and Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 232–44. In addition to Amos 9:11–12 there are likely allusions to Hos 3:5, Zech 8:22, Jer 12:15, and Isa 45:21 in Acts 15:16–18 as well. See Marshall, “Acts,” 592.
- 19 Amos 9:12 in the MT states that the result of David's tent being restored is that “they” (the returnees from exile) will inherit (Heb. יָרִשׁ) the remnant of Edom, while the LXX reads “inherit” as “seek” (with ἐκζητήσωσιν presumably translating a Hebrew שָׁרַר), and moreover places “mankind” (from a repointed עַדְמָא; “Edom”) as the subject of the sentence: the “they” who will seek the Lord. These alterations are likely intentional, reflecting hermeneutical concerns on the part of the LXX translator(s). Glenny, “Amos 9 in Acts 15,” 7–10.
- 20 Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 448; Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, HThKNT 5, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1980–1982), 2:182–83. Others, while acknowledging a reference to the resurrection, emphasize other themes, whether the restoration of Israel (Bruce, Strauss) or the end-time temple (Beale). On the profound importance of the resurrection in Acts in General, see Brandon D. Crowe, *The Hope of Israel: The Resurrection of Christ in the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020).

this is a Davidic Messiah figure.²¹ On this view, Luke is thinking in terms of the Messiah: it is first and foremost the resurrection of the Messiah that will lead to the gentiles seeking the Lord.

Second, “David’s tent” may refer to a *temple*.²² This makes good sense of the use of σκηνή (“tent” or “tabernacle”) throughout the OT and Acts (e.g., Acts 7:33–34), as well as the language of “rebuilding” (see, e.g., Zech 1:16). It also accords well with the emphasis on the end-time temple seen in Acts 2.²³ On this view, the point of Acts 15:16–18 is that the end-time temple must be restored in order that the gentiles might seek the Lord. As for what “restoring the temple” means, this would likely refer, first, to the resurrection of the Messiah (as in view 1), and then to the *people* as a corporate temple.²⁴

Third, it could refer to David’s royal line. That is, the rebuilding of David’s fallen “tent” means the restoration of David’s dynasty that essentially came to an end with the exile of Jehoiachin at the end of the SKNA.²⁵ This fits the context of the Amos passage the best and makes good sense in light of the Lukan emphasis on kingdom restoration throughout Luke–Acts. On this view, Luke is saying, in effect, “David’s line must be restored so that the gentiles can come in.” The restoration of the line would refer, then, either to ethnic Israel coming to faith in the Messiah, or else Jews and gentiles alike doing so.²⁶

It is not easy to decide between these views, and perhaps elements of each are intended. However, view (1) (resurrection) cannot be the primary one intended because of Luke’s alteration of the key verb in Amos 9:11a LXX from

21 4Q174 1 I, 1–13. For explicit identification of the צמח דוד with the Messiah, see 4Q252 v, 3–4. The “raising” in 4Q174, however, does not refer to a resurrection, but rather to the Messiah as restoring David’s line (seed). See line 10.

22 Beale, *The Temple and the Church’s Mission*, 232–44; Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 154–84; Marshall, “Acts,” 592.

23 See ch. 7.

24 4Q174, once again, has connections to an end-time temple, including (possibly) the idea of the community as the temple (מקדש אדם; 4Q174 1 I 6), or at least as analogous to a temple. For discussion, see Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as a Temple,” 278–88.

25 Keener, *Acts*, 3:2255–56; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 137–38. For “tent” (σκηνή) as indicating David’s line, see Isa 16:5. This is also how Amos 9 is used in 4Q174, although there an individual Davidide is in view. On Jehoiachin as representing the failure of the line, see Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 555.

26 For discussion on this point, see Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 187–88; and Keener, *Acts*, 3:2257. I am inclined toward seeing the “restoration” here meaning the repentant from among ethnic Israel (including Jews and, with certain nuances, Samaritans); this is the most straightforward reading of the purpose conjunction ὅπως in Acts 15:17 // Amos 9:12. See Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 43.

ἀνίστημι (“raise up”) to ἀνοικοδομέω (“rebuild”; cf. Amos 9:11b). It is hard to imagine Luke forbearing from using a verb so frequently employed to mean “raise from the dead” if he also intended this sense here.²⁷ This leaves views (2) and (3). While the decision is difficult, in light of the emphasis on the restoration of Israel seen all throughout Luke-Acts, the choice of verbs in Acts 15:16 (as in the Davidic covenant passages), and the similar use made of Amos 9:11–12 in 4Q174, it is preferable to see view (3) as primary (the restoration of David’s line), with view (2) (temple) as an additional implication, given the close connection between kingdom and temple. Furthermore, notwithstanding that the resurrection (view [1]) is not the main idea in view, we can hardly excise this entirely from Luke’s thinking here: it is, after all, only through the life, death, and resurrection of the Messiah that these things are made possible.²⁸ There are times when the inference to the best explanation involves not choosing between alternatives, but holding several at the same time. Thus, the rebuilding of David’s fallen tent refers to the restoration of the Davidic kingly line through the death and resurrection of the Messiah, which involves first Jews and then gentiles becoming the restored people of God in him, which is here (and elsewhere) portrayed as a restored end-time temple.

This leads to an important implication for this study. In light of the restoration of the Davidic line indicated in these verses, we should conclude that Luke views the followers of Jesus—all disciples, not just apostles—as heirs of the kingdom of David. The line of David that failed in Jehoiachin at the end of the SKNA is now restored, first in the Messiah, and then in his people. As in the institution narrative, here we observe Luke’s royal characterization of the disciples in terms drawn specifically from the Davidic covenant passages in the SKNA. By citing Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15, Luke indicates that, as the gospel is proclaimed to Jews and gentiles, new spiritual heirs of David are being added daily to the kingdom.

1.3 *Acts 13: Heirs of the Promise*

While the previous two texts are the clearest in terms of portraying the disciples as heirs of David’s kingdom, an additional possible supporting text

27 See e.g. Luke 9:8, 19; 18:33; 24:7, 46; Acts 2:24, 32; 3:22, 26; 7:37; 9:40–41; 13:33–34; 17:3, 31. Furthermore, Luke’s choice of the verbs ἀνοικοδομέω and ἀνορθόω in Acts 15:16 is likely due to influence from 2 Sam 7, 1 Chr 17, and other related verses. Glenn, “Amos 9 in Acts 15,” 19–20.

28 Strauss and Bruce hold a “hybrid” view between views (1) and (3). Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 188–190; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 294. Beale, especially between views (1) and (2). Beale, *The Temple and the Church’s Mission*, 232–38.

is Acts 13:34, part of Paul's speech at Psidian Antioch. In this section of the speech Paul defends the resurrection of Jesus by citing Isa 55:3: ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά ("But that he raised him from the dead, no longer to return to corruption, thus he has said 'I will give to you [plural] the holy and sure things of David.'").²⁹ This citation may reflect Luke's understanding that followers of Jesus are heirs of the Davidic covenant. For one thing, the entire thrust of Paul's message in Acts 13 is that God has now fulfilled the "promise" (ἐπαγγελία; 13:23, 32) to "us their children" (τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν; 13:33).³⁰ Insofar as the Davidic covenant forms the background for Paul's entire speech, this "promise" now received by "us his children" should be understood as the promise made to David in 2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17.³¹ In addition, intriguingly, the plural form of the personal pronoun (ὑμῖν) is used in the citation of Isa 55:3 to indicate the recipients of "the holy and sure things of David," whereas a singular form would have been more apropos as applied to Jesus. While this may be done simply out of faithfulness to the LXX source, which contains the plural, it may also be, as it were, an intentional non-alteration.³² In other words, Luke may be using the citation of Isa 55:3, along with other pointers to the Davidic covenant in the immediate context, to indicate his understanding that the blessings of the Davidic covenant are now being shared by all the people under the reign of the Davidic king. Admittedly this example is not as clear as the other two texts.

Luke 22:29–30, Acts 15:16–18, and possibly Acts 13 (especially v. 34) indicate that Luke views disciples of the Messiah as heirs of David's kingdom, including echoes and resonances of the Davidic Covenant that is found in the SKNA. This renders it plausible that the original heirs of David's kingdom in the SKNA provided for Luke a literary model for the disciples of Jesus. The following section will give additional support for this contention.

29 On this citation generally, see Marshall, "Acts," 585.

30 There is a textual problem in Acts 13:33. The reading printed herein is likely original, though on any of the main variants the promise is made to a group of people. For discussion, see C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ICC, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1:645.

31 Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 150–57; Marshall, "Acts," 584. There are also connections made to the promises made to "the fathers" (Acts 13:32)—that is, especially Abraham.

32 Luke elsewhere shows a willingness to alter OT citations when it suits his purposes. See, for example, Acts 7:43, where Luke changes "Damascus" to "Babylon" in his citation of Amos 5:27.

2 Royal Characterization throughout Luke-Acts

In this section we will look at evidence throughout Luke and Acts that Luke characterizes Jesus's followers in royal terms. When considered in concert with the evidence adduced in the previous section, this strengthens the claim that the SKNA has provided the literary inspiration for Luke-Acts. We will look at various means of characterization employed by Luke, including lexical clues, themes, and comparisons between followers of Jesus and other royal figures.³³

2.1 *Lexical Clues*

There are at least three places in the Gospel of Luke where Luke's choice of words (all on the lips of Jesus) hints at a royal status for followers of Christ. Luke 10:23–24 records Jesus's words after the return of the seventy(-two) from their successful mission. This text, concerning the blessedness of those who have seen what the disciples have, is double-tradition material (cf. Matt 13:16–17). But whereas Matt 13:17 mentions “many prophets and *righteous men*” (δίκαιοι) who “desired to see the things that you see,” Luke 10:24 has “many prophets and *kings*” (βασίλεις).³⁴ The direction of influence (if any) is irrelevant. What is significant is that Luke subtly compares the disciples to kings. I note further that the designation in 10:24 is given to the seventy(-two) disciples, not the apostles. This supports the claim, made above, that royal identity for Luke applies to all disciples of Jesus.³⁵

The second and third examples are found in the institution narrative. During the discussion of “who is greatest” in Luke 22:24–27, Jesus contrasts the servant-like behavior he wishes to instill in the apostles with the behavior of others. But whereas the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark use the word “rulers” to describe the others and their undesirable behavior (ἄρχοντες/οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν; see Matt 20:25 and Mark 10:42), Luke uses the word “kings” (βασίλεις): “The *kings* of the Gentiles lord it over them” (Luke 22:25 NASB; emphasis added). Later in the same chapter, Jesus states that the apostles will

33 For observations on the “scale of means” employed in characterization in biblical narrative, see especially Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 116–17.

34 The MS D and most Latin witnesses, as well as Marcion (according to Tertullian), omit καὶ βασίλεις.

35 The notorious textual problem in Luke 10:1 and 10:17 concerning whether seventy or seventy-two disciples are sent out on mission may also hint at a royal status for Jesus's followers. Whichever is the correct reading, some of the options for Luke's rationale for the number involve comparison with rulers or royal personages; e.g., the seventy elders in Num 11, seventy members of the Sanhedrin, or seventy-two princes of the world (see 3 En. 17:8; 18:2–3; 30:2). For these options and others, see Bock, *Luke*, 2:1015.

sit on thrones and will *judge* (κρίνοντες) the tribes of Israel (Luke 22:30). Sitting on thrones and judging both suggest the activities of royal personages.³⁶ It is difficult to account for these features on any theory other than that Luke views the apostles and disciples in some sense as royal figures.

2.2 Lukan Themes

We now consider three Lukan themes that hint at a royal identity for Jesus's followers: *table fellowship*, *witnesses*, and *the poor*.

2.2.1 Table Fellowship

The Lukan theme of *table fellowship* points to a royal identity for followers of Jesus. While all four Gospels feature scenes of eating and drinking, they are a special focus in Luke, which includes ten prominent meal scenes (including the Last Supper).³⁷ The theme continues into Acts, with a few prominent scenes featuring eating and/or drinking.³⁸ The significance of this theme, as many have observed, is to tie the activity of Jesus and his followers to the theme of

36 See, e.g., 2 Sam 15:1–6; 1 Kgs 3:16–28; 2 Kgs 15:5; Ps 2:10; 1 Macc 9:73. Nolland, *Luke*, 3:1067; Lagrange, *Saint Luc*, 552; Bovon, *Luke*, 3:176.

37 The ten meal scenes are: Luke 5:27–39; 7:36–50; 9:10–17; 10:38–42; 11:37–54; 14:1–24; 19:1–10; 22:7–38; 24:13–35; 24:41–43. On the meal scenes in Luke, see LaVerdiere, *Dining in the Kingdom of God: The Origins of the Eucharist According to Luke* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1994), 9–16; LaVerdiere, *The Breaking of the Bread: The Development of the Eucharist According to Acts* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1998), 29–31. In Acts, see John Paul Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts: An Audience-Oriented Approach*, SBLMS 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 235–305. Other works recognizing the prominence of table fellowship in Luke's writing include Craig Blomberg, *Contagious Holiness: Jesus' Meals with Sinners*, NSBT 19 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 130–63; John Koenig, *The Feast of the World's Redemption: Eucharistic Origins and Christian Mission* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 2000), 181–93; Dennis E. Smith, "The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*, ed. Birger Pearson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 68; Smith, "Table Fellowship as a Literary Motif in the Gospel of Luke," *JBL* 106, no. 4 (1987): 638; and Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 223–26.

38 On the theme in Acts, see especially Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 235–305; and LaVerdiere, *The Breaking of the Bread*. Heil sees the theme in Acts 2:42–47; 10:1–11:18; 20:7–12; 27:33–38. To these we could also add Acts 1:4, in which Luke uses the participle συναλιζόμενος, from συναλιζομαι, to describe Jesus's activity with the disciples prior to his ascension. The verb can be translated "eating salt with," and, as a metonymy for sharing a meal, is indicative of table fellowship with salient covenantal connections. See the extensive discussion in *ibid.*, 39–58. See also Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 65–66; Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 235–36; and Don Garlington, "The Salt of the Earth' in Covenantal Perspective," *JETS* 54, no. 4 (December 2011): 715–48.

the *messianic banquet*—a theme found throughout the Hebrew Bible and the Second Temple Jewish literature in which prophetically-promised restoration and re-creation are epitomized by abundance and feasting.³⁹ Like many other eschatological themes, expression of the messianic banquet theme became more pronounced during the Second Temple period, as seen in texts such as 1 En. 62:12–16, 2 Bar. 29:1–8, and 1Q28a 2:11–22.⁴⁰ The Gospels and other NT texts concerning Jesus's eating and drinking should generally be interpreted in this light. Thus Jesus, as seen particularly in Luke's Gospel, is the promised Messiah who invites restored Israel—including gentiles as well—to feast in new-creational bounty.⁴¹

This theme of table fellowship however—and, with it, the messianic banquet—is, to a great extent, a *Davidic* theme, rooted firmly in the narratives of the SKNA. This can be observed, for example, in David's extension of table fellowship to Mephibosheth (2 Sam 9:1–13), in Abigail's provision for David and his men (1 Sam 25:1–35), and in the meals hosted by David and his heirs (2 Sam 6:19; 9:1–7; 1 Kgs 8:65–66; 1 Chr 12:39–40; 1 Chr 29:22a; 2 Chr 30:21–26; 35:7–19).⁴² Outside of the SKNA, the theme of eating and drinking is also found in the Davidic psalms (e.g., Ps 22:26 [21:27 LXX]; 23:5 [22:5 LXX]; 41:9 [40:10 LXX]; 63:5 [62:5 LXX]), as well as in contexts concerning the restoration of the

39 The parade ground text is Isa 25:6–8. Other texts include Isa 49:9–12; 55:1–5; 65:13–16; Zech 9:9–17 (see esp. v. 15); and Joel 2:21–27. On this theme, see especially Priest, “A Note on the Messianic Banquet”; Smith, “The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered,” 64–73 (especially 72); Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London: Epworth, 1971), 18–59; and Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 222–23. While not all occurrences of the theme in the OT and Second Temple Jewish literature involve a messianic figure (and thus in these cases a more accurate term might be the *eschatological* banquet), nevertheless the term *messianic banquet* is commonly used. So Priest, “A Note on the Messianic Banquet,” 222; and Smith, “The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered,” 64–65.

40 Priest, “A Note on the Messianic Banquet,” 223–29; and Smith, “The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered,” 67–68.

41 Not every meal scene, or reference to eating and drinking, in Luke-Acts should be taken as an indication of the messianic banquet theme. Nevertheless, I believe that a strong case can be made for such a connection in the following: Luke 5:27–39; 9:10–17; 12:22–32, 35–40; 13:23–30; 14:1–24; 24:28–35, 36–43. Possibly a case can also be made for Luke 1:53, 6:21a, 15:1–32, 16:19–31, and Luke 19:1–10. Elements that contribute toward an eschatological understanding in these passages include: marital/bridegroom language, mention of “invitation” (καλέω; Luke 5:32; 14:1–24; cf. Rev 19:9), indications of abundance, a general future orientation, mention of the kingdom, reversal of status or expectations, and the presence of the Messiah at the meal.

42 In one of these, 1 Chr 29:19–22, David eats with his heir, Solomon, as it is argued that Jesus, in a sense, does with the apostles and disciples in the institution narrative.

Davidic line and covenant (Isa 55:1–5; Ezek 34:23; Amos 9:11–15).⁴³ Thus, table fellowship has a particularly Davidic connection.

Of these texts, Isaiah 55:1–5 is of particular note. This text ties the promise of the coming eschatological banquet (55:1–2) to the cutting (כרת) of “an eternal covenant of [according to] the faithful mercies of David” (ברית עולם) (הַנֶּאֱמָרִים הַזֶּה הַיּוֹד הַסֵּדִי יְיָ; διαθήκη αἰώνιον τὰ ὅσα Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά; Isa 55:3). This striking text likely means that the end-time banquet celebrating Yahweh’s undisputed kingship over restored creation is inextricably linked to a future restoration of the Davidic covenant.⁴⁴ Notice, however, that in this text, the restoration of the Davidic Covenant that is in view includes the idea of vice-regency; the covenant is extended *to the people as a whole*.⁴⁵ It is for “everyone who thirsts,” and “the one who has no money” (Isa 55:1); the crucial verbs in 55:3 are plural. Thus, as scholar Klaus Baltzer sums up, “The enduring demonstrations of the bond between David and his God are *transferred to the community*, as a lasting covenant, put into force afresh for the benefit of ‘the people (of God).’”⁴⁶ In other words, the Davidic covenant, in the eschatological future, has become “democratized”—shared with all of the people.⁴⁷ In Isaiah 55:1–5 the people have been accorded royal status to reign along with the king, and this is epitomized through the motif of table fellowship.⁴⁸

43 Psalm 41:9 is explicitly connected to the Last Supper in John 13:18, while Amos 9 is of course central to Acts 15 (see above).

44 John Goldingay and David F. Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40–55*, ICC, 2 vols. (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 2:372; J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 209; Priest, “A Note on the Messianic Banquet,” 236; Smith, “The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered,” 68. On the unity of Isa 55:1–5, see John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40–66*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 434. For textual issues, see Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55*, 2:372.

45 Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55*, 2:372; Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 470.

46 Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 470; emphasis added.

47 The “democratization” of the Davidic covenant implied in Isa 55 has been noted by many scholars, including Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55*, 2:372; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 470; and Gillis Gerleman, “Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterocesaja,” in *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie*, FfDV (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1980), 48–49. Not all agree that Isa 55 foresees the Davidic covenant being transferred to the people; e.g., Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 454n1; and Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath*, 161n54. On democratized kingship in the Second Temple Jewish literature, see ch. 2. In this section the language of “democratized kingship” or “democratized David” is retained with the understanding that this hardly implies a liberal democracy in the modern western sense, nor does it exclude the idea of a singular, reigning Davidic king.

48 Some Second Temple Jewish sources indicate that the options of a royal community and a single Davidic leader are not mutually exclusive (e.g., 4Q252; 4Q521). On the concept

But would Luke have shared this understanding of the democratized Davidic covenant seen in Isaiah 55, along with the connection to table fellowship? Likely, yes. For one thing, Luke is clearly aware of Isa 55, as indicated by the citation of Isa 55:3 on the lips of Paul in Acts 13:34. As we noted above, this citation may also reflect Luke's understanding that the Davidic promises have been extended to all the people. For another, in the institution narrative, Jesus specifically mentions that the apostles will "eat and drink at my table in my kingdom" (Luke 22:30) as they sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

In light of this, it would be reasonable to conclude that table fellowship in Luke-Acts, tied as it is to the democratized kingship of the messianic banquet, can be understood as a marker of vice-regency. By eating and drinking with the people, Jesus indicates the fulfillment of what was promised in Isa 55. Those who dine with the Davidic Messiah are heirs of the kingdom of David.⁴⁹ If this is true, it also indicates Luke's desire to include *all* followers of Jesus—not just apostles, but all who eat with the King in table fellowship—in this royal identity. Just as there is no hint, in Isa 55, of the Davidic covenantal blessings being transferred to only a special subset of the people, so in Luke we should expect this same understanding.⁵⁰

2.2.2 Witnesses

Luke's prominent identification of Jesus-followers as *witnesses* may also subtly suggest a royal identity.⁵¹ The Isaianic background of the term *witnesses*

of vice-regency in the OT, Second Temple Jewish literature, and the NT, see especially McCartney, "*Ecce Homo*."

49 Additionally, the fact that the people eat with the messianic king in the *present* indicates that the vice-regency suggested by table fellowship in Luke-Acts is one that is likewise in effect in the present, not merely the future.

50 The conferral of the Davidic kingdom onto the apostles at the Last Supper, then, should be understood in this way: the apostles are covenanted the kingdom as *representatives* of all the restored people of God. In the same way, the elders who ate and drank with Yahweh on the mountain in Exod 24:9–11 to affirm the covenant did so as representatives of the people. See Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 209. Thus, although the twelve ought to be understood as the "core" or "nucleus" of restored Israel, this should not exclude the wider group which this core represents. (On "core" and "nucleus," see Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*, 239–45.) As additional support for this conclusion, we note that whereas Matt 19:28 (the parallel text to Luke 22:30) has *twelve* thrones on which the apostles will sit in the kingdom, in Luke 22:30 the number twelve is omitted. This is likely done in order not to restrict the judicial/executive role to just the apostles, but rather "to generalize the saying to apply to all the faithful disciples." Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 818. For further reflections on the relationship between the twelve and other followers of Jesus in Luke-Acts, largely in line with this understanding, see Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 75–112.

51 See Luke 24:48; Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39; 13:31; 22:15; 22:20; 26:16.

(עֵדִים/μάρτυρες) in Acts is widely acknowledged, with reference usually made to passages such as Isa 43:9–12 and 44:8–9.⁵² An additional verse from Isaiah that must be brought into consideration, however, is Isa 55:4, part of the “democratized David” passage explored above. In the LXX, this verse reads “Behold, I have made him a witness (μαρτύριον) among the gentiles, a leader and commander for the gentiles” (ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον ἐν ἔθνεσιν δέδωκα αὐτόν ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάσσοντα ἔθνεσιν).⁵³ In its context this clearly refers, first, to David, mentioned by name in the previous verse, and then, second, to the nation as a whole, as indicated by the plural verb forms.⁵⁴ Thus, insofar as the word *witness* is found in Isa 55:1–5—clearly known to Luke from Acts 13:34—we could infer that at least part of the Isaianic background for Luke’s idea of witness may involve a royal Davidic identity for the people.⁵⁵

In fact, assuming a royal-Davidic identity as part of Luke’s concept of witness provides clarity concerning the progression of thought in Acts 1:3–8. Working backwards from v. 8 to v. 3, Jesus’s designation of the apostles as witnesses (1:8) comes in answer to their question concerning the restoration of the kingdom in 1:6. This question, in turn, immediately follows the Davidic-covenantal table fellowship indicated in 1:4, as well as the kingdom language of 1:3. Therefore, it is likely that in asking about the kingdom’s restoration in 1:6, the apostles are, in effect, asking when they will take up royal rule, presumably that which was promised in Luke 22:30.⁵⁶ Jesus’s answer indicates that, although their question regarding timing is improper, in any case their present royal identity is assured and is tied to their role as witnesses. Acts 1:3–8 indicates that *witness* has, as part of its Isaianic background, a connection to the concept of democratized Davidic identity.⁵⁷

52 See, e.g., Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the ‘Servant’*, 130–33; and Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 69. On the theme of *witness* in Acts, see especially Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 194–200.

53 There are only minor textual variants.

54 There are also verbal and conceptual links to the *witness* and *servant* passages found throughout Isaiah chapters 40–55. For links between Isa 55:1–5, Isa 43:9–12, and 44:8–9, see Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55*, 2:373. For connections between Isa 55 and the *servant* identity, see Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 439.

55 Support for this contention is found in Acts 10:40–41, where Peter says that “God raised Him up on the third day and granted that He become visible, not to all the people, but to witnesses who were chosen beforehand by God, that is, to us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead” (NASB). Peter links the apostles’ designation as *witnesses* to table fellowship with Jesus which, as mentioned above, is another subtle marker of royal identity.

56 Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 36–37; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 231.

57 Additionally, Jervell notes that the group addressed by Jesus in 1:8 is larger than just the twelve, as indicated by οἱ συνελθόντες in 1:6. Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, KEK 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 116. Furthermore, as with some other

2.2.3 The Poor

Third and finally, even Luke's well-known emphasis on the *poor* (οἱ πτωχοί) may point toward a royal characterization of the disciples, as seen especially in Jesus's Nazareth sermon in Luke 4 with its citation of Isa 61:1–2 (Luke 4:18–19).⁵⁸ For, as at least one Second Temple period text indicates, the idea of “the poor” can not only exist in the context of royal identity, but may, in fact, imply it. In the Qumran text 4Q521 we see a remarkable confluence of themes that are relevant to Luke-Acts (especially the Nazareth sermon), including the Messiah, mention of the poor (עניים) with clear verbal links to Isa 61, renewal by the Holy Spirit, and mighty acts which include healing, raising the dead, and feeding the hungry (4Q521 2 II, 1–12). The key lines are 6 and 7, which state: “And over the poor (עניים) his spirit shall hover, and his faithful ones he shall renew with his strength. For he will honor the pious (חסידים) upon the throne of an eternal kingdom.”⁵⁹ Notice that these lines identify the “pious” with the “poor,” and indicate that they will be honored “on the throne of an eternal kingdom.” In other words, the pious-poor are portrayed as royal figures.⁶⁰ If a similar idea is part of Luke's cognitive environment, it means that there would be no conflict whatsoever between the Lukan emphasis on the poor and royal identity. In fact, as in 4Q521, the two concepts might be related; the concept of the poor might, in an eschatological context, imply a royal status.

2.3 Royal Comparisons

The last line of evidence we will consider in this section concerns two places in the Book of Acts where Luke contrasts the apostles with other royal figures.

2.3.1 Acts 9: The Conversion of a “King”

Saul's encounter with the risen Lord Jesus in Acts 9:1–8 contains a possible allusion to the book of 1 Samuel that contrasts him with the OT king Saul and which, thereby, likely intendeds to portray him as a faithful end-time king. In Acts 9:4, Jesus asks Saul of Tarsus “Why do you persecute me?” (τί με διώκεις;)?

passages mentioned earlier, this passage also indicates the present, not merely future, royal identity of the disciples, since it is in the present that they exercise their role as witnesses.

58 On the poor in Luke-Acts, see Walter E. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981). On the use of Isa 61 in Luke 4, see Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 287–92.

59 ועל עניים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יחליף בכחו כי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד Author's translation. Hebrew text from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

60 See also Luke 12:32: “Do not be afraid, little flock, for your Father has chosen gladly to give you the kingdom” (NASB). See McCartney, “*Ecce Homo*,” 17.

This bears some resemblance to the question David asks of King Saul in 1 Sam 26:18: “Why does my Lord pursue after his servant?” (ἵνα τί τοῦτο καταδιώκει ὁ κύριός μου ὀπίσω τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ;)⁶¹ Further narrative contrasts between the two figures (Saul and Paul) are revealing. In the case of King Saul, although he repents of his sins (1 Sam 26:21), his later conduct reveals that he is no true friend of David, God’s chosen king. In the case of Saul of Tarsus, however, the one sinfully persecuting the Davidic king repents of his sins (9:17–18; cf. 22:1) and thereafter becomes a faithful follower of Jesus, God’s chosen Davidic king.⁶² Thus, in this passage Luke subtly presents Saul/Paul as a kingly figure in contrast to King Saul. Whereas the earlier king is faithless, the later one is not. One of them, as James Sanders observes, “fell on his sword and died ignominiously (1 Sam 31:4).” The other, by contrast, fell to the ground before the true king (Acts 9:4), later becoming the kingdom’s “greatest herald.”⁶³

2.3.2 Acts 12: Contrasted Kings

In Acts 12 Peter is characterized as a faithful royal figure through a pointed contrast with the faithless King Herod.⁶⁴ Several elements of the story indicate this. First, Peter and Herod are juxtaposed by means of an overall chiasm, with two related accounts of Peter (12:6–11; 12–17) sandwiched between two accounts of Herod (12:1–5; 18–23).⁶⁵ Second, within the narrative there are

61 One MS omits τοῦτο. Two have the verb in 2S form (καταδιώκεις) as in Acts 9:4. There are other minor textual variants.

62 On Jesus’s promise to show Saul “what he must do” (9:6) as intimating repentance, see Keener, *Acts*, 2:1638.

63 Sanders, “Isaiah in Luke,” 147. Several other details serve to strengthen the parallel between Paul and King Saul. In both narratives the sound of a voice occurs at the beginning of the encounter (1 Sam 26:14, 17; Acts 9:4), and in both the respondent asks about the identity of the questioner (1 Sam 26:14; Acts 9:5). Furthermore, the use of the name Paul (meaning “short”) may possibly be employed by Luke on the literary level in order to contrast with the tall king Saul. See Sean McDonough, “Small Change: Saul to Paul, Again,” *JBL* 125, no. 2 (2006): 390–91. *ibid.* As for the *conduplicatio* (Σαούλ Σαούλ), for SKNA parallels see, e.g., 1 Sam 3:4 LXX (Samuel); and 2 Sam 19:5 (Absalom). For other possible OT parallels in Acts 9, see Keener, *Acts*, 2:1609, 1632; and Jürgen Röloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, NTD 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 149.

64 That is, Herod Agrippa I. Keener entitles his section on Acts 12:1–24 “Peter versus Herod.” Keener, *Acts*, 2:1864–1972. At least some Peter/Herod parallels are noted by many commentators. See, e.g., Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 388; Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 432; Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 302, 312; and Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina 5 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 218.

65 Pervo, *Acts*, 301. Or, perhaps, the chiasm is seen elsewhere: Peter is saved through being struck (Acts 12:7; A); Peter departs Jerusalem (Acts 12:17; B); Herod departs Jerusalem (Acts 12:19; B’); Herod is judged through being struck (Acts 12:23; A’).

several points of contrast between the two figures. For one thing, both figures are struck (πατάσσω) by the angel of God; one for salvation (12:7), the other for judgment (12:23). For another, both depart Jerusalem (ἐξέρχονται [12:17c]; κατέρχονται [12:19]) after Peter's release. Moreover, their character qualities are starkly juxtaposed: Peter humbly waits on the Lord in prison (12:3–6), while Herod's pride is laid bare in the subsequent account of his death (12:20–23).⁶⁶ While there is some debate as to why Luke includes this account, it would seem that the contrast between the two figures is at least part of the point.⁶⁷ But this carries with it an implication. For, whereas Herod is obviously a royal personage, this implies that, for Luke, *so is Peter*. By placing the departures of Peter and Herod side-by-side, Luke presents Herod as a foil for Peter. The false king departs Jerusalem and is struck down in judgment. The true king departs after being struck unto salvation—and lives on to rule again (see Acts 15:8–11).⁶⁸

In addition to the foregoing texts, Acts 5 (the story of Ananias and Sapphira) may also subtly indicate Luke's royal characterization of the disciples. Luke's concern in Acts 5, at least in part, is to establish the royal-judicial role of the apostles in faithfully administering the kingdom. As Luke Timothy Johnson observes, the key question in view in Acts 4:23–5:11 is, "Who will emerge as the effective rulers of the restored Israel?"⁶⁹ Thus Luke, in portraying Peter's ability to discern and call out Ananias and Sapphira's deception, portrays him (and by implication the other apostles) as a strong and capable judge ruling over the restored people of Israel, in contrast to the current rulers of Israel, and as prophesied by Jesus in Luke 22:30.⁷⁰

66 Keener, *Acts*, 2:1953, 2:1965. This story furthermore bears a resemblance to a contrast found in 2 Kings between Rabshakeh, the boastful mouthpiece for the King of Assyria, and Hezekiah, who humbly beseeches the LORD for deliverance; 2 Kgs 18:33–35; 19:10–13, 22–24, 35.

67 See, e.g., Ben Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 382–83. Herod is the only non-Christian character to whom distinct narrative space is devoted in Acts. Adams, *Collected Biography*, 131.

68 For additional parallels between Herod and Peter see Keener, *Acts*, 2:1957. Thiering notes a possible parallel between the death of Herod and the similarly spectacular death of the wicked king Ahab in 1 Kgs 22:29–40. Thiering, "Opening and Closing Narratives," 54. What is more, on the thematic level, the death of Herod is an example of retribution theology in Acts, a feature that is commonly observed in the SKNA. O. Wesley Allen, Jr., *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of Retribution in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 158 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997). On retribution theology in the SKNA, see ch. 2. On SKNA elements of Luke's historiography, see ch. 6.

69 Johnson, *Acts*, 90. See also Craig Keener's outline of Acts, which labels 3:1–5:42 as covering "Apostolic Leadership in Jerusalem." Keener, *Acts*, 1:577.

70 Johnson, *Acts*, 90–91. Johnson notes the authority of the apostles and the connection to Luke 22:30, although emphasizing their *prophetic* identity. See also Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 316–17.

2.3.3 Conclusion

Luke characterizes the followers of Jesus in royal terms throughout his double-work by means of specific lexical choices, the deployment of themes across Luke-Acts redolent of royalty, and by certain contrasts made between followers of Jesus and other rulers or royal characters. While some of these methods of characterization apply only to the apostles, others apply to the disciples more generally.

3 Additional Observations and Considerations

3.1 *Royal Identity Elsewhere in the NT*

While Luke's royal characterization of the apostles and disciples is distinctive among the Evangelists, it is hardly unique in the NT. It is indicated, among other places, in Matthew 19:28 (the parallel text to Luke 22:30), the Pauline epistles (1 Cor 4:8; 6:2–4, 9; 2 Cor 6:16–18; Eph 2:6; 5:5; 2 Tim 2:12), the Book of Hebrews (Heb 2:5–9; 12:28), 1 Peter 2:9, and the Book of Revelation (Rev 1:6; 2:26–28; 3:21; 5:10; 12:10–11; 17:14; 20:4, 6; 21:7; 22:5; cf. Dan 7:18, 22, 29). Second Corinthians 6:18 is particularly noteworthy, as Paul grounds the royal identity of all Christians in the Davidic promise in 2 Sam 7, relates it to the themes of *adoption* and *sonship*, and strikingly includes sons *and daughters*. Many of these verses also make clear something that is claimed for Luke as well: the followers of Jesus reign only and always as vice-regents along with Jesus their king. This evidence outside of Luke-Acts provides important NT corroboration for the conclusion reached from Luke-Acts alone.

3.2 *Royal Characterization and Gender*

Throughout this study the language of “kings” has been used, since this is the language that Luke uses or the sense that he indicates. Yet if it is true, as has been argued, that royal authority is something extended to the people of God as a whole, then it would seem to include both genders. Women, as well as men, are “kings” in this sense: heirs of the Davidic promise. In fact, democratic-Davidic background may help to explain Luke's well-known emphasis on women.⁷¹

⁷¹ See, e.g., Luke 8:2; 23:27–31, 49; 24:10, 22–24; Acts 1:14; 2:17–18; 5:14; 8:12; 16:13–14; 17:4, 12. Cf. Paul's alteration of 2 Sam 7:14 in 2 Cor 6:18 to include sons *and daughters* (υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας). This observation is not intended to be the last word on gender roles in the New Testament or the Christian Church.

3.3 *The Timing of the Disciples' Vice-Regency*

Even if it is granted that the apostles and disciples are presented as royal figures in Luke-Acts, it might be objected that Luke envisions this royal identity to be in effect solely in the future, at the Parousia, and not in the present time of the narrative, as is required for this thesis. In particular, Luke 22:29–30 and Acts 1:3–8 might seem to point in this direction.⁷² This conclusion would be mistaken, however. While a full appraisal of Luke's eschatology far exceeds the scope of this study, a few brief points can be made here.

First, the question of the timing of the disciples' vice-regency ought to be tied to the question of Luke's eschatological orientation as a whole—especially, the timing of the kingdom. Since Luke, as is widely acknowledged, emphasizes the present reality of the kingdom of God throughout Luke-Acts, we should, all things being equal, understand the disciples' vice-regency along the same lines: it is inaugurated along with the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus.⁷³ The ascension is particularly relevant, since it is understood as Jesus's enthronement, and thus as his installation as Davidic King (see especially Acts 2:34–36). Since the disciples' royal status is tied to Jesus's identity as Davidic king, this means that if Jesus is reigning as king in Acts, then so must the disciples be reigning (in an inaugurated sense) along with him.⁷⁴

Second, elements in Luke 22:29–30 and Acts 1:3–6 (the two texts that might especially indicate future vice-regency) actually point toward a *present* inauguration of the disciples' royal identity. As mentioned above, Jesus, in Luke 22:29,

72 For example, Nolland, commenting on Luke 22:29, writes: "Despite the various attempts that have been made to find here a ruling role for the Twelve in the life of the early church, the eschatological orientation, in this context, of the rule of Jesus requires the same for the rule of the Twelve." Nolland, *Luke*, 31066. While I agree with Nolland's premise—that Luke's eschatological orientation is the key to understanding the timing of the vice-regency—I would argue that, in fact, Luke's eschatological orientation requires precisely a *present* vice-regency for the apostles and disciples, not merely a future one.

73 Some verses in Luke-Acts that indicate realized eschatology include Luke 9:1–2; 10:8–11; 11:17–20; 17:20; Acts 26:18. On realized eschatology and the present kingdom of God in Luke and/or Acts, see Green, "Kingdom of God/Heaven," 477–78; Keener, *Acts*, 1:518–19, 673–74, 684; Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts*, 243–46. Of course there is a future, as well as a present element in Luke's eschatology. See Kevin Giles, "Present-Future Eschatology in the Book of Acts," *RTR* 40, no. 3 (1981): 65–71; Giles, "Present-Future Eschatology in the Book of Acts," *RTR* 41, no. 1 (1982): 11–18; John Nolland, "Salvation-History and Eschatology," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, eds. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 68–70; Keener, *Acts*, 1:673, 686.

74 To this we may add the significance of the outpouring of the Spirit in Acts 2. Since this is most emphatically a sign of the eschatological age, we ought to understand the disciples, at least from Pentecost on, as partaking of their eschatological royal identity. On the implications of Pentecost for Luke's eschatology, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:682, 684.

“covenants” the Davidic kingdom to the apostles (διατίθεμαι; present tense). Notwithstanding a fuller future fulfillment in view (i.e., sitting on thrones and judging; v. 30), this covenant and kingship is apparently in effect in the present.⁷⁵ As for Acts 1:3–6, although Jesus’s answer to the apostles’ question concerning the timing of Israel’s restoration certainly points toward some future fulfillment (Acts 1:7), nevertheless Luke’s unique designation of the disciples as *witnesses*, as already discussed above, is an eschatological term subtly indicating democratized Davidic identity. This means that when the apostles and disciples “witness” throughout Acts, they do so as present vice-regents of the Davidic King.

Third, specific elements in other “royal identity” texts point toward a present understanding of vice-regency. We have already discussed Luke 10:24 above (“Many prophets and kings desired to see the things that you see ...”). This subtle indicator of royal identity is set in the context of the ministry of the seventy(-two), which is clearly presented as an extension of Jesus’s *present* kingdom authority (Luke 10:9, 11, 19).⁷⁶ Finally, Acts 15:16–18, also discussed above, presents the inclusion of gentiles as the fulfillment of Amos 9:11–12. Since this citation serves to identify the followers of Jesus with the restored Davidic line, we must therefore understand that, in the timeline of Acts’ narrative, those presently coming to faith in Jesus are presently understood to be vice-regents along with him.⁷⁷

Thus, while there is undoubtedly a future consummation of the kingship of the apostles and disciples in view for Luke, this does not preclude a present understanding of vice-regency as well. From the perspective of Luke, it is *now*, not merely not-yet, when the apostles and disciples reign as Jesus’s vice-regents.⁷⁸

3.4 *Eschatological Escalation and Inversion*

Having surveyed Luke-Acts for its portrayal of the apostles and disciples as royal figures, we can sum up the ethical orientation of this characterization in

75 Comparison with the parallel text of Matt 19:28 renders Luke’s present-day orientation in sharper relief: in Matthew, it is explicitly “in the new creation” (παλιγγενεσία) when the sitting and judging will take place.

76 On the unity of Luke 10:1–24, including source-critical issues, see, Bock, *Luke*, 1:986–93.

77 In addition to these more direct markers of present royal identity, we could add other, more indirect indicators, such as the table fellowship the disciples presently enjoy with the Davidic king.

78 For present royal identity elsewhere in the NT, see 1 Cor 6:2–4; 2 Cor 6:16–18; Eph 2:6; 1 Pet 2:9; Rev 1:6. First Corinthians 4:8 could be understood as either present or future.

a few words: it is universally positive. Although the epistles occasionally contain negative comments concerning other Christian leaders (e.g. Gal 2:11–21 [Peter]; 2 Cor 11:1–5 [unnamed apostles]; 2 Pet 3:15–16 [Paul]), this perspective is not to be found in Acts. Luke unreservedly portrays the main characters in Acts as victorious, exemplary figures.⁷⁹

If Luke's positive royal portrayal is based in part, as argued herein, on interaction with the SKNA, then this implies that it is, in the first place, a case of typological escalation.⁸⁰ That is, the NT figure excels its OT counterpart. We saw in chapter 2 that the main figures of SKNA 2 are kings—heirs of David's kingdom. Although some of these kings are portrayed positively, on the whole the characterization is negative: David's heirs fail to live up to David's promise. The kingdom fails. By contrast, Luke portrays David's end-time heirs in overwhelmingly favorable terms, successfully advancing the cause of the kingdom, despite fierce external opposition. Thus, in the same way that Luke presents Jesus as the greater David, he likewise presents the apostles and disciples as the greater kings.

Furthermore, this royal characterization should also be understood as an instance of ironic eschatological inversion—the unexpected reversal of conditions in the end times. This feature in Luke-Acts is widely noted, usually with respect to the status of gentiles and (unbelieving) Jews: the two have switched places, with the former now enjoying (for a time) a preeminent status in God's people and plan. The findings of this chapter would suggest that such an inversion applies as well to the heirs of David's kingdom who have now, in their end-time fulfillment in the disciples, become what they were always meant to be: vigorous agents of the ongoing establishment of the kingdom of God, included in the rebuilding of David's fallen tent (Acts 15:16; cf. Amos 9:11). For Luke, therefore, not only are the gentiles numbered among the lowly who have been lifted up in the last days, but so also are the heirs to David's throne.

4 Synthesis: Royal Figures in SKNA 2 and Luke-Acts

Table 5.1 presents some main points of comparison between the kings in SKNA 2 and the disciples in Luke-Acts (with a focus on Acts).

79 The observation here concerns the main figures of Acts. Not all Christians or those associated with the movement are portrayed positively; e.g., Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5), Simon (Acts 8), and John-Mark (Acts 13:13; 15:37–38).

80 On typological escalation and eschatological inversion (or *reversal*), see ch. 1.

TABLE 5.1 Royal figures in SKNA 2 and Luke-Acts

Element	SKNA 2	Luke-Acts
Main Characters	Kings of Israel and Judah	Apostles and disciples (main characters of part 2)
Identity of Main Characters	Heirs of Davidic kingdom	Heirs of restored Davidic kingdom (Luke 22:29–30)
Designated Role of Main Characters	Faithfulness to covenant Fidelity to example of David Faithful administration of the kingdom (see 1 Kgs 9:4–9 // 2 Chr 7:17–22, etc.)	Faithfulness to covenant (Luke 22:20, 28–30) Witnessing to Jesus and the resurrection (Acts 1:8; 4:33; 10:39–42; 28:23; etc.) Fidelity to example of Jesus (Acts 1:1; 4:13; Acts 20:35) Faithful administration of the kingdom (Acts 1:6–8; 5:1–11, 29; 6:1–6; 28:30–31)
Characterization of Main Characters	Generally negative	Positive

5 Summary and Conclusion

Dan McCartney has written that “in some ways the book of Acts can be understood as the story of how the church assumes the mantle of Jesus as God’s collective vice-regent in his kingdom.”⁸¹ I would emphatically agree with this conclusion, simply extending the claim to the Gospel of Luke as well. Luke, uniquely among the evangelists, presents the apostles and disciples as heirs of the kingdom of David, and thus as royal figures and vice-regents of Jesus. This is seen most clearly in the institution narrative where, as part of the institution of the new covenant, Jesus covenants the kingdom of David to the apostles as representatives of all the restored people of God. It is also seen in Acts 15:16–18, where all followers of Jesus are included in this vice-regency through a citation of Amos 9:11–12 (especially what is meant by “David’s fallen tent.”) Elsewhere in Luke-Acts it can be observed more subtly as part of Luke’s strategy of characterization. This includes several unique lexical choices, the employment of themes redolent of vice-regency, and comparisons between Peter and Paul

81 McCartney, “*Ecce Homo*,” 15.

and other royal figures (Herod and King Saul). All throughout, the conceptual fountainhead for this portrayal is the SKNA. This is seen in the motif of Davidic kingdom restoration, in the motif of table fellowship, in allusions to the Davidic covenant, and in a few specific allusions (in Acts) to events and figures in the SKNA.

Luke's distinctive identification of disciples of Jesus as kings is crucial for the overall thesis of this study, for it is evidence that Luke has been influenced by the SKNA. While it does not, on its own, prove Luke's reliance on the SKNA, nevertheless it is a key part of the convergent argument. It is a surprising fact which, if the present thesis is true, would be a matter of course.

Luke the Chronicler: Structural Features

A true copy stamps its own form upon all the features which it has drawn from what we may call the original, in such a way that they are combined into a unity.

SENECA (THE YOUNGER), *Epistulae morales*¹



In this chapter we consider four elements of Luke-Acts, mainly structural in nature, that are plausibly dependent on the SKNA. These are: (1) Luke's theological geography, (2) the sequence of major characters in Acts, (3) the use of speeches, prayers, and summary statements in Acts, and (4) several features of Luke's historiography in general (such as *promise and fulfillment*). These features are all part of the convergent argument of this study, as described in chapter 1. Moreover, the first three, insofar as they are both mimetic and related to the structure of Luke-Acts, are examples of structural mimesis.

1 Luke's Theological Geography and the SKNA

Joseph Fitzmyer was certainly correct to include, as part of his treatment of Lukan theology in his Luke commentary, a section on "The Lukan Geographical Perspective."² Luke-Acts, uniquely in the New Testament, emphasizes issues of geography, yet it is clear that this emphasis is "subservient to a theological concern."³ In this section we will investigate what I call Luke's *theological*

¹ Translation from Gummere, LCL.

² Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 164–71.

³ Ibid., 164. Other voices that have emphasized the connection between Luke's geography and his theology include Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 159–252; Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*; Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*; J. M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," in *The Book of Acts in its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf, vol. 2 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 483–544; Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 18–94; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:582–84, 697–711; 2:1345–51.

geography.⁴ The thesis of this section is that Luke's prominent theological geography is heavily influenced by the similar theological geography of the SKNA, both of which are closely tied to the kingdom of David. Whereas in the SKNA the theological geography relates to the kingdom's dissolution, in Luke-Acts it is related to its restoration. Moreover, in both works the theological geography is marked by a particular sense of *movement*: toward Jerusalem in part 1, and away from Jerusalem in part 2 toward the ends of the earth. This theological geography also includes Samaria as a key component in the kingdom's dissolution (in the SKNA) and restoration (in Luke-Acts).⁵

We will begin by briefly looking at the SKNA, seeing how theological geography lies at the heart of these works in ways that foreshadow a similar use in Luke-Acts. Next, we will look at Luke-Acts, focusing on the way that Lukan theological geography is related to the theme of the restoration of Israel. This will include consideration of the vital importance of Jerusalem in Luke-Acts, the north-south narrative progression of Luke, the role of Acts 1:8 in the structure of Acts, and the outward expansion of the gospel in Acts (including Samaria and Rome). We will also separately consider Stephen's speech in Acts 7 as a crucial indicator of Luke's theological geography and its relation to the SKNA.

1.1 *Theological Geography in the SKNA*

Although a concern for land and geography can be observed in all of the historical books, and indeed in the entire OT, it is especially prominent in

4 By *theological geography*, I mean geography (mention of or description of or emphasis on geographic locations or features in a narrative) in service of a theological end. A few authors use the term; e.g., Joel Burnett, "'Going Down' to Bethel: Elijah and Elisha in the Theological Geography of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 129, no. 2 (2010): 281–97; and Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 231. A similar term is *narrative geography*, meaning geography in service of a literary end. See John A. Beck, *God as Storyteller: Seeking Meaning in Biblical Narrative* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice), 99–133. Both terms have in common the idea of place that is, in the words of Matthew Sleeman, "involved actively in the construction of meaning." Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 28. With respect to Matthew Sleeman's use of Edward Soja's terminology of *firstspace*, *secondspace*, and *thirdspace*, theological geography would seem to be largely (though not exclusively) concerned with the idea of *thirdspace*—that is, the realm of "geographical imagination." See *ibid.*, 44–47.

5 As I will explain below, geography in Luke-Acts cannot be separated from issues of ethnicity. This is especially true with respect to Samaria and the Samaritans. David Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, JSNTSup 119 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 78. To include ethnicity in my chosen term, however, would render it cumbersome. Thus, I use "theological geography," with the understanding that in some cases the geography implies an ethnic component. On the relationship between geography and ethnicity in Luke-Acts, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:697, 702, 703; and Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 35–36.

Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.⁶ Several studies have demonstrated the use of geography in service of theological ends in specific passages.⁷ But theological geography in the SKNA is far more pervasive and significant than studies of isolated passages would indicate. For geography is closely intertwined with the entire narrative from start to finish, and is inextricably linked to the themes of David and his kingdom.

Even a cursory reading of 1 Samuel reveals a profusion of theologically significant place names (e.g., Shiloh and Bethel), as the action inevitably moves toward David's anointing as king over all Israel in Hebron (2 Sam 5:1–3; cf. 1 Chr 11:1–3). It is clear, however, that the location toward which all of SKNA 1 is driving is Jerusalem: David's "city of destiny."⁸ Almost immediately upon David's rise, the focus shifts irreversibly toward the city of the Jebusites, a site apparently chosen for its central location as the nexus of royal rule over a united Israel (2 Sam 5:6–9; cf. 1 Chr 11:4–8). As in other matters related to Samuel-Kings, this focus on David and Jerusalem is distilled into more concentrated form in 1 Chronicles: the genealogies of the tribes at the beginning of the book (which themselves evince a concern with the land) are followed immediately by an account of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9, while David's installation and conquest of the city are almost the first actions narrated in 1 Chronicles (1 Chr 11:1–9).⁹

It is hard to exaggerate the spiritual significance of Jerusalem in the narratives of the SKNA, especially SKNA 2. Jerusalem is not merely the site of David's throne, but as the eventual site of the temple it represents *in nuce* the theological-political hopes of the nation.¹⁰ Even more vitally, however, insofar as it is *Yahweh* who chooses Jerusalem for the site of his temple, Jerusalem

6 See, e.g., Paul R. Williamson, "Land," *DOTHB*, 639; Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 46–47; and Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 179, 185–89.

7 E.g., Burnett, "Going Down' to Bethel"; and Thomas Römer, "De Temple au Livre: L'idéologie de la centralisation," in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible*, eds. Steven L. McKenzie and Thomas Römer, BZAW 294 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 207–25. See also various essays on narrative geography by John A. Beck; e.g., "The Narrative-Geographical Shaping of 1 Samuel 7:5–13," *BSac* 162 (July–September 2005).

8 This is my appropriation of Joseph Fitzmyer's term which he applies to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke. Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 164, 166, 167.

9 On land and the genealogies in Chronicles, see Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 185–89.

10 On the importance of Jerusalem in Chronicles (with implications for Samuel-Kings as well), see Ackroyd, "History and Theology in the Writings of the Chronicler," 501–15; Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 125–39; Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, 115–27; and Schweitzer, "The Temple in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," 123–38. Kalimi

becomes the center of Yahweh's kingdom on earth (1 Kgs 8:44, 48 // 2 Chr 6:34, 38; 2 Kgs 21:7 // 2 Chr 33:7; cf. Isa 2:2–3; 52:9–10; 62:6–7; Mic 4:2–4). While this is evident in Samuel-Kings, it is even clearer in Chronicles, as “Jerusalem emerges in Chronicles as the only capital of ‘the kingdom of the Lord.’”¹¹ Moreover, there are hints in Chronicles that Jerusalem is the center not merely of David's or of God's kingdom, but (by implication) of the entire earth.¹²

As we observed in chapter 2, the end of SKNA 1 and the beginning of SKNA 2 mark the “high point” of the kingdom of David and Solomon, as the tribes are united in solidarity around God's chosen king installed in Jerusalem. This ethnic unity is paralleled by an expansive geographic unity, as the newly amalgamated kingdom comprises both north and south and far beyond; “from the Shihor of Egypt even to the entrance of Hamath” (1 Chr 13:5 NASB). Moreover, there are hints, especially in Chronicles, that God's purposes extend beyond the ethno-geographic borders of Israel to include the nations, and even the very ends of the earth (1 Chr 16:8, 24, 28–31; 1 Kgs 8:41–43 // 2 Chr 6:32–33).

However, what David achieves cannot hold, and things quickly fall apart. The predominant theme of SKNA 2 is the *dissolution* of the Davidic kingdom, both geographically and ethnically. The breakup of the kingdom begins dramatically with the rebellion of the northern tribes and the establishment of the separate kingdom of Israel, centered in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:24). From this point on, the name “Samaria” takes on dark and portentous theological overtones, as it inevitably becomes associated not only with the divided kingdom, but with persistent idolatry, epitomized by the “sin of Jeroboam” (1 Kgs 13:32–34; 16:23–26, 30–32; 2 Kgs 3:1–3; 13:6, 10–11; 14:23–24; 15:27–28; etc.). Despite the ongoing ministrations of Elijah and Elisha, it is for this idolatry that Israel is eventually carried off into Assyrian exile: the kingdom contracts (2 Kgs 17:6–23). Judah, for her part, likewise cannot stave off her own demise and—the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah notwithstanding—is conquered and exiled to Babylon not long after, giving rest to the land (2 Kgs 24:3–4, 10–16, 20; 25:8–21; 2 Chr 36:10–21). The kingdom, it would seem, is no more.

By ending in Babylon, the conclusion of SKNA 2 shifts in a stark and painful way to “the end of the earth” (Deut 28:49). Babylon is a location pregnant with theological significance for both Kings and Chronicles, representing the ultimate covenant curse of exile (Deut 28:36, 49–50; 29:28; cf. 1 Kgs 8:46 // 2 Chr 6:36). Despite the palpable sense of tragedy, however, the endings of both

calculates that approximately 23% of all occurrences of “Jerusalem” in the Hebrew Bible occur in Chronicles. Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 138–39.

11 Ibid., 126.

12 See, e.g., 1 Chr 29:11; 2 Chr 2:12; 6:33; 36:23; cf. Isa 2:2–3; Ezek 5:5. Ibid., 129.

Kings and Chronicles contain hints that all is not, perhaps, lost. In 2 Kings, the release of Jehoiachin injects a faint glimmer of hope into the otherwise dismal conclusion of the narrative (2 Kgs 25:25–30), while in Chronicles this sense of hope is amplified considerably by the inclusion of Cyrus's decree to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:22–23).¹³ Where Chronicles is concerned, however, there are two additional emphases present which are of more than passing interest for our study of Luke-Acts: *fulfillment* and *the nations' access to God*. Concerning the former, the Chronicler, by interacting with the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah at the conclusion of his work, presents Cyrus's decree as no less than the fulfillment of God's word spoken through the prophets.¹⁴ As for the latter, comparison of Cyrus's decree as recorded in Chronicles with the Book of Ezra reveals a detail of great theological moment. By ending the narrative with עָלָיו ("and let him go up"; LXX καὶ ἀναβήτω), and omitting "to Jerusalem" (cf. Ezra 1:3b), the author of Chronicles not only turns tragedy into triumph, but also subtly mitigates a potential sense of ethnocentrism by portraying Yahweh as the Lord of the whole earth with Jerusalem at the center. In other words, the ending of 2 Chronicles has a wider reach than just the exiles, and hints at God's heart for the nations.¹⁵

This brief review of the SKNA has demonstrated that it is saturated with a sense of theological geography focused on Jerusalem and the Davidic kingdom. This theological geography points toward the latter's dissolution (including the pivotal role of Samaria), culminating in exile at the end of the earth. We now turn to Luke-Acts to see how these same emphases are taken up and transformed.

1.2 *Lukan Geography and the Restoration of Israel*

Luke's emphasis on geography is closely tied to his concern with the restoration of Israel, including a restored Davidic kingdom. This, in turn, is directly related to the geographic progression of Luke-Acts: *toward* Jerusalem in Luke,

13 On 2 Chr 36:22–23 as the original ending of Chronicles, see Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 145–47. On the similarities between the ending of the SKNA and the ending of Acts, see ch. 7.

14 See Isa 45:13; 66:13–14a; Jer 29:10; 51:11. Ibid., 148–52. The burden of Kalimi's doctoral dissertation was to demonstrate that *fulfillment* is a significant theme of Chronicles. See Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005).

15 Suggested by Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 153. See e.g. Isa 2:2–4; 66:19–20; Jer 3:17; Mic 4:1–2; Zech 8:22; 14:16. Notwithstanding this observation, Kalimi's main point is that the ending of Chronicles reflects a "Zionistic" perspective focused on return and rebuilding for the Diaspora. Ibid., 153, 156–57.

and *away* from it in Acts.¹⁶ These claims will be demonstrated, first, by looking at the significance of Jerusalem in Luke and Acts, and second, by surveying both books, noting the way that geography is used in service of theological ends. We will conclude with some observations concerning Stephen's speech in Acts.

1.2.1 Jerusalem: The City of the King

Although Jerusalem appears in all the Gospels, it is a particular "preoccupation" of Luke, a pivotal city with profound and complex theological significance.¹⁷ The narrative of Luke-Acts begins there, moves toward there at the climactic midpoint, and moves outward from there in Acts. All throughout, Jerusalem is closely connected to Luke's Davidic Christology, as well as the temple.

Luke's Gospel uniquely begins in Jerusalem. It is where the birth of John the Baptist is foretold (1:5–23), it features twice in the infancy narratives (2:22–39, 41–52), and it is the site of the final temptation scene, unlike in Matthew (Luke 4:5–12; cf. Matt 4:5–10). After the shift toward Galilee in 4:14, the overall shape of the narrative is marked by a persistent geographic progression toward Jerusalem as Jesus's "city of destiny."¹⁸ While all of the Synoptics are structured around a single journey to Jerusalem, for Luke this journey takes on added emphasis, as seen in the long central "travel section" (9:51–19:27). Jerusalem is mentioned three times in this uniquely Lukan material (9:51, 13:22, 17:11).

As in all the Gospels, in Luke Jerusalem is the climactic city where Jesus dies and rises again. The third Gospel, however, uniquely emphasizes resurrection appearances in and around the city (Luke 24:13–53; Acts 1:4–8). It is also from its environs that Jesus ascends (Luke 24:50–51; Acts 1:4, 9). Moreover,

16 Four scholars I interact with in this section whose work has emphasized the close connection between Lukan geography and the restoration of Israel and the Davidic kingdom are David Pao, Scott Hahn, David Ravens, and Michael Fuller. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*; Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*; Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*.

17 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 164. On the importance of Jerusalem in Luke-Acts, see *ibid.*, 164–68; Bachmann, *Jerusalem und der Tempel*; Fay, "Narrative Function of the Temple," 261–67; Serrano, "Jerusalem Temple," 38–39 (and sources listed there); Keener, *Acts*, 1:699–702; and Oliver, *Luke's Jewish Eschatology*, 71–102. In Luke's Gospel "Jerusalem" occurs 32× (including the *conduplicatio* in 13:34). Compare to 13× for Matthew (2× 23:37); 11× for Mark; 13× for John. Moreover, Jerusalem was considered to be the center of the world by first century Jews. Richard Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting*, ed. Richard Bauckham, vol. 4 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 417–27. Cf. Isa 2:2–3; Ezek 5:5.

18 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 164, 166, 167.

Jerusalem plays a strategic role in the progress of the gospel. It is from there that forgiveness of sins must first be proclaimed (Luke 24:47; cf. Acts 1:4, 8; cf. Isa 2:3; Mic 4:2). It is where the Holy Spirit is poured out at Pentecost (Acts 2), and where the nascent Church experiences rapid growth alongside of fierce persecution (Acts 2:41–7:60). And it is from Jerusalem that Jesus’s witnesses begin to move out, bringing the gospel to Judea and Samaria and the ends of the earth. Notwithstanding the predominant outward movement following Stephen’s death, however, Jerusalem still features throughout the remainder of Acts (Acts 11:2, 22; 15:2–29; 19:21; 20:16, 22; 21:4–23:31; 25:1–27; 26:20; 28:17).

Moreover, Jerusalem is closely tied to Luke’s Davidic Christology. The Annunciation includes the promise that the Lord will give Jesus the throne of his father David (Luke 1:32), located historically in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17). It is only in Luke’s account of the triumphal entry that Jesus is called a “king,” which, as we have observed repeatedly, means a *Davidic* king (Luke 19:38). It is in Jerusalem that the salvation promised in Luke 1:69–71 is ultimately accomplished through the death and resurrection of the Davidic Messiah. And it is in Jerusalem that the disciples are commanded to wait for what the Father has promised, which Jesus connects to the restoration of the Davidic kingdom (Acts 1:6–8).

Thus, to sum up, as Joel Green puts it, “Jerusalem and the temple constitute profoundly important social products that reflect and configure ways of understanding the world Luke is portraying.”¹⁹ The strength of the parallel with the SKNA should be apparent at this point. When Luke is read through the lens of the SKNA (especially Chronicles), not only do we observe the same “preoccupation” with Jerusalem, but we notice that it serves the same *function*: it is the center of the Davidic kingdom, and the place from which Yahweh’s worldwide rule will go forth. To understand how this focus on Jerusalem at the center of the narrative is related to the theme of kingdom restoration, we must look at other geographic features of Luke and Acts.

1.2.2 Samaria, Samaritans, and the North-South Progression in Luke: Restoration Foreshadowed

While Jerusalem is central to Luke’s theological geography, how Jesus gets there is just as important. Whereas the other Synoptics include accounts of travel outside the borders of Israel, Luke curiously downplays this. Instead, the central section of Luke’s Gospel is structured around a long, single journey from north to south, passing through and spending significant time in Samaria

19 Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 692. I would add, social and theological products.

(9:51–19:27).²⁰ Here, a point made earlier must be reiterated: Luke's geography cannot be separated from ethnic concerns; "the real importance of Samaria to Luke is the Samaritans."²¹ Specifically, for Luke the Samaritans, whatever their actual ethnic makeup in the first century, represent the ten northern tribes.²² This has an important implication: the best explanation not only for the general north-south trajectory, but also for the positive portrayal of Samaritans in Luke's Gospel, is that Luke wishes to indicate the restoration of Israel.²³ That is, by including the Samaritans in the kingdom, Luke shows that what was lost through the sin and idolatry of David's heirs in the SKNA is being recovered in Jesus and his royal heirs. However, in Luke's Gospel the mission is not entirely successful (Luke 9:52–56); it must await the ministry of Jesus's witnesses in Acts to see restoration accomplished.

1.2.3 Acts: Geographic-Ethnic Progression and Acts 1:8

As we turn to the Book of Acts, I note that, apart from the sequence of major characters, to be examined in the following section of this chapter, geographic progression is the most prominent structural feature of the book. As with other aspects of Luke's geography, this outward progression is theologically motivated.

It is widely recognized that Acts 1:8 provides an outline for Acts, with the locations mentioned there proving a rich source of narrative-theological fruit throughout the remainder of the book.²⁴ Acts opens in Jerusalem (chs. 1–7). Following Stephen's death, the narrative follows the outward progression of the gospel, first to Judea and Samaria (chs. 8–9), and then to the gentiles and ultimately to the "end of the earth" (chs. 10–28). But Acts 1:8 is more than just about covering ground in service of the gospel. It is freighted with an immense theological payload. For, as Scott Hahn points out, Acts 1:8 is nothing less than a "Davidic map" representing the limits of the ideal Davidic kingdom:

20 It is likely, though not certain, that Luke intends his readers to understand all of this section as occurring in Samaria (though cf. Luke 17:11). Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 166–67; Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 76–81.

21 Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 78. See also Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 35–36. On the role of the Samaritans in Luke-Acts, see also Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 113–32.

22 Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 98–99, 106.

23 Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*, 248–49; Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 125–27; Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 76–87, 99; and Oliver, *Luke's Jewish Eschatology*, 120–24.

24 Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 119–23; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1:65–66; Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:37–38; Keener, *Acts*, 1:575, 708–10. See also *ibid.*, 1:707n541–42 for further sources. Many scholars acknowledge multiple structures for Acts.

Jerusalem was David's city (cf. 2 Sam 5:6–10), Judea his tribal land (2 Sam 5:5; 1 Kgs 12:21); Samaria represents (northern) Israel, David's nation (1 Kgs 12:16); and “the end of the earth” are the Gentiles (cf. Isa 49:6), David's vassals (Pss 2:7–8; 72:8–12; 89: 25–27). The kingdom of David, encompassing Jerusalemites, Jews (i.e., Judeans), Israelites, and Gentiles, will be restored as the Apostles' witness extends to “the end of the earth” and the *ekklēsia* grows.²⁵

Hahn's insight is crucial for this study. Three points must be emphasized. First, the context of Acts 1:8 reflects Davidic kingdom restoration, as seen in the apostles' question in Acts 1:6, as well as in the selection of Matthias to complete the number of the twelve (Acts 1:15–26).²⁶ Second, as the quotation from Hahn above makes clear, the locations mentioned in Acts 1:8 are ones that by-and-large are closely tied to the SKNA. Third, not only does Luke's theological geography match that of the SKNA, but its theological import does as well, albeit in an inverted way. For, just as SKNA 2 portrays the *dissolution* of the Davidic kingdom, which involves a movement toward the end of the earth (including the pivotal role of Samaria), so Acts portrays the *restoration* of the Davidic kingdom by means of the same geographic progression. We thus have here the likely existence of a literary-thematic parallel between the SKNA and Acts, containing a note of eschatological inversion. Moreover, the point at which Acts 1:8 occurs in the narrative—at the midpoint of the two-part work—closely matches the location of the high point of the original Davidic kingdom in the SKNA. This likely indicates that Luke wishes to show that what was only potential under David becomes realized under David's eschatological heirs.

1.2.4 Samaria and Samaritans in Acts: Restoration Accomplished

We saw above that Luke foreshadows the restoration of Israel in the Gospel of Luke by means of the largely unsuccessful mission to Samaria. This restoration is accomplished in Acts.

Following Stephen's death in Acts 7:60, the focus shifts to Samaria as Philip successfully proclaims the gospel there in Acts 8:5–25.²⁷ While the importance

25 Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 231. To use the word “map” is not to reduce geography to mere cartography, as Hahn's comments and my own make clear.

26 On Matthias and kingdom restoration, see Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 82–85; and Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 232.

27 Acts 8:5 states Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐκήρυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν. There is a textual issue regarding the article τὴν. It is found in several witnesses, including P74, 8, A, B, and 1175. On balance it is best to take it as original. Although it is difficult to identify the town in question (Keener, *Acts*, 2:1494–96), nevertheless Luke likely includes the article in order to allude to Shechem, as mentioned in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:16).

of this account in signaling the restoration of Israel is widely noted,²⁸ it is seldom noticed that the events described here are, for this reason, the direct reversal of the events narrated in 1 Kings 12–13. That is, when the “apostate” Samaritans respond to the gospel in Acts, they are, from the perspective of Luke, re-gathered into reconstituted Israel.²⁹ This means that the sin of Jeroboam is reversed, and the painful breach between north and south described in Kings and 2 Chronicles is healed. Moreover, as with Acts 1:8, the location of the Samaria portion of Acts’ narrative matches very closely the equivalent location in the SKNA (1 Kgs 12–13 // 2 Chr 10:1–11:17): that is, it occurs just after the beginning of part 2, when the strong Jerusalem orientation begins to broaden to include other locations (see especially “Shechem”; 1 Kgs 12:1).³⁰ Thus, the details and location of Acts’ narrative, in parallel with the OT, and considered along with the distinctive Lukan emphasis on reunification between north and south, strongly suggest that Luke here is retracing and consciously “unwinding” the events of SKNA. This stands as a significant pointer toward Luke’s intention to follow the theological geography of the OT source.

1.2.5 To the Ends of the Earth

Immediately after the success of the Samaritan mission, Philip is led by the Holy Spirit to the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–39). The eunuch is a gentile God-fearer, functioning for Luke as a “step beyond” the Samaritans, and

This then brings us back to the world of the SKNA, for it is in Shechem that Jeroboam built up his rival kingdom which led to the north’s idolatry (1 Kgs 12:25). See F. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Role and Relations*, JSNTSup 67 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 85.

28 See Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 126–27; Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant*, 220–21; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 127–29; and Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 92–100.

29 On the Samaritans as apostate in the minds of Second Temple period Jews, see Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 75–76. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.340–44.

30 We can be more precise concerning the relative location of the “Samaria” portions within Acts and the SKNA. The Greek text of Acts contains approximately 18,450 words, of which Acts 1–7 contain 4,704. This means that Acts 8 (the Samaria portion) begins after 25.5% of the narrative has passed. The Greek text of Kings contains roughly 38,624 words, of which 1 Kgs 1–11 contain 10,530 words. This means that the Samaria portion (beginning in 1 Kgs 12) occurs after 27.3% of the narrative has passed. For 2 Chronicles, the Greek text contains about 21,353 words, of which 2 Chr 1–9 contain 5,275 words. This means that 2 Chr 10:1–11:17 (corresponding to 1 Kgs 12–13) takes place after approximately 24.7% of the narrative has passed. The average of the numbers from Kings and 2 Chronicles is 26.0%, which is almost precisely the same percentage as in Acts (25.5%). While these word counts are, of course, only rough estimates, given the textual uncertainty surrounding both Acts and the LXX of Samuel-Kings, nevertheless this is an impressive degree of correspondence. All word counts are from the BibleWorks Greek Text (BGT), BibleWorks v. 10. For Acts, the BGT is equivalent to NA²⁸. For the LXX, the BGT is identical to Rahlfs.

signaling an early adumbration of the gentile mission to come.³¹ This passage too, albeit in a different way from Acts 8:5–25, evokes resonances with the SKNA, through both the dynamic action of the Spirit of the Lord (8:29, 39; cf. 1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 1:3; 2:16), as well as by mention of the Queen of the Ethiopians (8:27), which evokes the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's court (1 Kgs 10:1–10 // 2 Chr 9:1–9; cf. Luke 11:31).³²

But it is not until the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10 that the gentile mission gets underway in earnest. From here to the end of the book, the focus in Acts is increasingly on those outside of ethnic Israel, as the geographic progression continues to follow the “map” laid out in Acts 1:8. Through the ministries of Paul and others, the gospel continues to move out toward its eventual proclamation in Rome, the dominant world power and the center of the gentile world. In the same way as Babylon in the SKNA, Rome in Acts is a location saturated with deep theological significance.³³ Although it was known that Rome was not the *geographic* end of the earth, nevertheless it *functions* as such in Luke's narrative, fulfilling the redemptive-historical mandate of Acts 1:8.³⁴ This means that both the SKNA and Luke-Acts end in locations that are, in essential respects, equivalent from a theological-geographic standpoint: both function as the “end of the earth,” and both represent the dominant world power of their day. Furthermore, Paul's proclamation of the gospel in Rome enables Luke's narrative to conclude with a sense of *fulfillment* of the words of Jesus, as well as a sense of ongoing *universal mission*.³⁵ As noted above, these two themes are also present at the end of 2 Chronicles (see, e.g., 2 Chr 36:22–23). These parallels, in conjunction with further narrative parallels to be explored in the following chapter, render Luke's reliance on the SKNA at this point likely.

1.2.6 Stephen's Speech

Although we already looked briefly at Stephen's Speech (Acts 7:2–56) in chapter 4, here I conclude this survey of Luke's theological geography with some further observations. The issues raised by the speech are many and are

31 For the eunuch as a “step beyond,” see Keener, *Acts*, 2:1567. For discussion of the religious status of the eunuch, see *ibid.*, 2:1565–67; and Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 141–42.

32 On a possible reference to the Queen of Sheba, see Volkmar Hirth, “Die Königin von Saba und der Kämmerer aus dem Mohrenland oder das Ende menschlicher Weisheit vor Gott,” *BN* 83 (1996): 13–15; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1378–79.

33 See Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 260–61.

34 On the sense of Rome as the end of the earth, see Peter Ben-Smit, “Negotiating a New World View in Acts 1.8? A Note on the Expression ἕως ἑσχατοῦ τῆς γῆς,” *NTS* 63, no. 1 (January 2016): 1–22; Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 247–51; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:703–7.

35 We will look more closely at the ending of Acts in ch. 7.

worthy of far greater attention than we can devote to them here.³⁶ The aim is simply to point out several elements of the speech that emphasize theological geography with connections to the SKNA.

First, the entire speech evinces a concern with theological geography through repeated mention of significant biblical place names. Many of these are outside of Israel, demonstrating that it is not only within her borders that God has been at work.³⁷ Second, as we saw in chapter 4, Stephen’s detailed narration of Israel’s history ends abruptly with David and Solomon, showing obvious influence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles at the climax of the speech. Third, and perhaps most significantly, Luke, in his citation of Amos 5:25–27 in Acts 7:42–43, makes a key alteration to the text of Amos 5:27 that evinces a concern with geography while subtly pointing toward the SKNA. Table 6.1 shows the comparison between the LXX and Acts, with the key difference represented by boldface.

In its OT context, Amos 5:25–27 concludes a prophecy of Israel’s impending exile due to idolatry. As is clear from the table, the citation in Acts is nearly exact. The one major difference, however, is that whereas the LXX of Amos 5:27 has *Damascus* as the location of Israel’s promised exile—accurate from the standpoint of physical geography—Luke has *Babylon*.³⁸ In making this change, Luke is doing at least two things. First, in a manner similar to Second Temple

TABLE 6.1 Comparison of texts: Amos 5:25–27 and Acts 7:42–43

Amos 5:25–27 (LXX)	Acts 7:42–43
²⁵ μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ	⁴² μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ;
²⁶ καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Παιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς	⁴³ καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Παιφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποίησατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος .
²⁷ καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ	

36 For overviews of some of the issues, see Earl Richard, *Acts 6:7–8:4: The Author’s Method of Composition*, SBLDS 41 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1978); Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 50–71; Dennis D. Sylva, “The Meaning and Function of Acts 7:46–50,” *JBL* 106, no. 2 (1987): 261–75; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1328–1429.

37 E.g., Mesopotamia (7:2), Haran (7:2, 4), Egypt (7:9–28), Midian (7:29), Sinai (7:30–34), and the wilderness (7:36, 38). Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 60–61.

38 The ms Q of Amos 5:27 has βαβυλῶνος in the margin, under influence from Acts. On the use of this verse in Acts 7:43, see Marshall, “Acts,” 565–66; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1411–12.

pesher interpretation of the OT, he is taking a prophecy initially given to the northern kingdom of Israel and applying it to the southern kingdom of Judah, of which first-century Jews and Jerusalemites would have seen themselves the descendants and heirs. In so doing, he indicts all ethnic Jews who had rejected the Messiah in the same idolatry that Amos condemns. Second, in one swift stroke he connects the theological geography of the SKNA to that of his own two-part work and transforms it. This is because mention of Babylon immediately brings us back to the ending of the SKNA, as described above. But also, for Luke, Babylon surely evokes the idea of *Rome*, since, for first-century Jews, Rome represented the “new Babylon.”³⁹ This subtle change is therefore not only evidence of Luke’s concern with theological geography in general, but also of its connection to the SKNA, even with a note of eschatological inversion. In other words, writing in full knowledge of the role of Babylon in Israel’s earlier history—seen among other places at the end of the SKNA—Luke here is likely already anticipating the ending of his narrative (Acts 28:16–31), which will show Paul reasoning with Jews in Rome (that is, the new Babylon at the end of the earth). This will serve to juxtapose Paul and the leaders he attempts to persuade: although both are in “Babylon,” for the one group (unbelieving Jews) this represents a state of ongoing exile, while for the other group (Paul and believing Jews) it perhaps indicates the ironic eschatological triumph of the kingdom. As with other points in this speech, and Acts in general, the symbolism is rich, evocative, and multivalent.⁴⁰ While it is, of course, possible that Luke’s substitution of Babylon for Damascus is made for reasons other than the one proposed here, in context with other evidence presented the influence from the SKNA seems likely.

1.3 *Synthesis: Lukan Theological Geography and the SKNA*

The points of correspondence between the theological geography of the SKNA and Luke-Acts are represented in table 6.2.

It is widely acknowledged that the alteration is likely Luke’s. See, e.g., Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1:465; and Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 243.

39 On Rome as the new Babylon for Luke, see especially Karl Matthias Schmidt, “Abkehr von der Rückkehr: Aufbau und Theologie der Apostelgeschichte im Kontext des lukanischen Diasporaverständnisses,” *NTS* 53, no. 3 (2007): 420–24. See, e.g., Sib. Or. 5:113–61; 4 Ezra 3:28, 31; 2 Bar. 67:7; 4Q163 4–6 II, 2; 8–10, 1–3; 4Q386 1 III, 1–5. Keener, *Acts*, 2:1412. See also 1 Pet 5:13; Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21.

40 As Sleeman observes, “spatiality can be carried in small details within the narrative.” Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 10.

TABLE 6.2 Theological geography in the SKNA and Luke-Acts

Element	SKNA	Luke-Acts
Theological geography in general	Important part of the narrative strategy	Important part of the narrative strategy
Role of Jerusalem	Pivotal; “city of destiny” for David	Pivotal; “city of destiny” for Jesus
Geographic trajectory of part 1	Toward Jerusalem	Toward Jerusalem
Geographic trajectory of part 2	Mixed and complex; in some respects away from Jerusalem toward the end of the earth	Away from Jerusalem toward the end of the earth, although Jerusalem is still important
Relation of theological geography to the Davidic kingdom	Reflecting its dissolution	Reflecting its restoration
Role of Samaria	Pivotal role in the dissolution of Davidic kingdom and slide into idolatry and exile	Pivotal role in the re-unification of restored Davidic kingdom
Location at end of narrative	Far from Jerusalem; end of the earth (cf. Deut 28:49); center of dominant world power; signaling (in Chronicles) fulfillment and hinting at gentile access to God	Far from Jerusalem; end of the earth (cf. Acts 1:8); center of dominant world power; signaling fulfillment and gentile access to God

1.4 *Theological Geography: Conclusion*

Theological geography, in both the SKNA and Luke-Acts, is prominent, and is used in similar ways. In both, there is an emphasis on Jerusalem as David’s or Jesus’s “city of destiny.” The shape of both is to a great extent the same, with part 1 of both works moving toward Jerusalem, and part 2 moving toward other locations and nations. Furthermore, in both works the theological geography is tightly bound up with the Davidic kingdom, whether concerning its dissolution in the SKNA, or its restoration in Luke-Acts. This includes the pivotal role of Samaria. Both works end at the center of the dominant world power at the end of the earth, emphasizing themes of fulfillment and universal mission.

This remarkable confluence of theologically driven geographic features qualifies as another surprising fact which, if the current thesis is correct, would be expected and natural. It would also qualify as an example of structural

mimesis: imitating a prior work in terms of its literary structure. Moreover, on many points, if the parallel is sound, Luke-Acts can be seen as correcting or rectifying the corresponding situation in the SKNA (e.g., the respective roles of Samaria and Rome). This would indicate a significant element of eschatological inversion; in the end times in which Luke writes, he sees former patterns not merely being recapitulated, but redeemed and transformed.

2 The Sequence of Major Characters in Acts

This section focuses on the Book of Acts. In it I will investigate a key structural feature of Acts: the sequence of major characters. I pointed out in chapter 2 that the narratives of SKNA 2 (Kings and 2 Chronicles) are structured predominantly around successive accounts of kings. In this section I will investigate the analogous feature in Acts: successive accounts of the followers of Jesus, whom Luke, as I argued in the previous chapter, presents as royal kingdom agents. After briefly reviewing the structure of SKNA 2, we will look at Acts, focusing on Luke's accounts of Peter, Paul, Stephen, Philip, and others. I will argue that the similarities between the SKNA and Acts with respect to this structural element are due to influence of the former on the latter. That is, Acts is structured by largely sequential accounts of major royal characters in imitation of Kings and 2 Chronicles, which are likewise structured by largely sequential accounts of royal characters. I will then address several potential objections to this proposal, while at the same time demonstrating its explanatory power. Finally, I will point out that this aspect of Luke's use of the SKNA is yet another instance of eschatological inversion, as well as structural mimesis.⁴¹

2.1 *The Sequence of Major Characters as a Structural Feature in the SKNA*

As we saw in chapter 2, from Solomon to Jehoiachin the narratives of both Kings and 2 Chronicles are carried along by a sequence of main characters who rule over the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. This element is just one part of a tightly interwoven complex of structural features which also includes geography, speeches, prayers, and summaries. Moreover, the kings of the SKNA are presented in direct comparison to their forebears, especially David and

41 The argument made in this section concerning the parallel between the kings in the SKNA and the disciples of Jesus has been anticipated in certain respects by a few scholars, although it appears that none have developed it as extensively as is done herein. See Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 133; Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," 76–77; and Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 34.

Jeroboam, and are measured in large part by their conformity to a prior example. Overall, despite a few commendable figures, the characterization of the kings is negative, and the trajectory is downward: failure to be faithful to God and to David's example leads to the kingdom's downfall.

2.2 *The Sequence of Major Characters as a Structural Feature in Acts*

Besides the geographic-ethnic progression signaled by Acts 1:8, examined in the previous section, the most obvious structural feature of the Book of Acts is the sequence of major characters.⁴² Sean Adams's work on the genre of Acts, which we looked at in chapter 3, emphasizes this fundamental aspect of Acts' structure. Adams argues for understanding Acts' genre as "collected biography"—an ancient genre whose works "delineate and segment their work based on individual characters."⁴³ Although we saw, in chapter 3, that the influence of the SKNA arguably provides a better explanation than collected biography for certain generic features of Acts, nevertheless Adams's work is invaluable in underscoring the degree to which Acts' narrative is propelled by successive accounts of key figures.

2.2.1 Peter and Paul

In making the case for Acts as collected biography, Adams leans heavily on allocation of narrative space (that is, the number of words devoted to each character), with analysis of verbs' subjects as an important secondary consideration.⁴⁴ When this analysis is applied to Acts, it becomes apparent, as has long been noted, that the bulk of Acts is devoted to successive accounts of Peter and Paul.

Peter appears in approximately 23.4% of Acts' narrative, especially in chapters 1–5 and 9–12, where he assumes a leading role.⁴⁵ As for Saul/Paul, after his participation in Stephen's death (Acts 7:58; 8:1) and his dramatic conversion (9:1–30), he becomes the dominant figure throughout the remainder of Acts (Acts 13–28), with 56.4% of the total narrative devoted to his activities, including his crucial role in bringing the gospel to the gentiles.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the

42 Many commentators have endorsed the progression of characters as a prominent feature of Acts' structure, although usually focusing on Peter and Paul. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 96 (cf. 120); Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 72; Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:37; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:575–76. Keener acknowledges that multiple structures for Acts are likely. Not all are convinced that the sequence of major characters is an important structural feature; see., e.g. Röloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 12–13.

43 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 126. See also 69, 109–113. See also the earlier remarks in this direction by Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 133.

44 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 126–32.

45 For the percentage, see *ibid.*, 130. For analysis of Peter's role, see *ibid.*, 212–18.

46 For the percentage, see *ibid.* For analysis of Paul's role, see *ibid.*, 218–22.

many conspicuous correspondences between the activities of Peter and Paul have been widely noted as a premier example of Luke's literary parallels.⁴⁷

Acts is not just about Peter and Paul, however. Another important contribution of Adams's work has been to give other characters in Acts their proper due. By looking at narrative space and other factors, Adams demonstrates that Barnabas, Stephen, John, Philip, James (Jesus's brother), the disciples, and the apostles (the last two considered as collective entities) also receive significant attention.⁴⁸ Thus, the oft-acknowledged emphasis on Peter and Paul must be heavily qualified: there are more than two major figures in Acts. Of these, in my view Stephen and Philip stand out for special emphasis.⁴⁹

2.2.2 Stephen

Stephen appears on the scene as one of the seven appointed to serve in Acts 6:1–6.⁵⁰ In his brief ministry prior to his martyrdom he is described as πλήρης πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου (Acts 6:5; cf. 6:3; 7:55), πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως (Acts 6:8), performing τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα (Acts 6:8), and speaking with unanswerable wisdom (Acts 6:8, 10). Most of the space allocated to Stephen is devoted to his speech before the council—the longest in Acts by far—and his subsequent martyrdom (Acts 7:1–60). Stephen's influence, however, outlives him, as his martyrdom plays an integral role in the outward expansion of the gospel in Acts 8–28 (see especially 8:1, 4; 11:19). In addition, Luke takes pains to characterize Stephen as an ideal disciple, especially by means of parallels with both Jesus and Paul.⁵¹ Thus, Stephen functions in Acts as a vital agent of the kingdom, serving as a faithful witness to Jesus even unto

47 For discussion, examples, and analysis, see Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 146–53; Andrew C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, PBTM (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2001), 209–60; and Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 32–39, 50–51.

48 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 130–31. These figures and groups take up, respectively, 10.3%, 7.2%, 6.0%, 2.3%, 1.5%, 5.4%, and 2.0% of Acts' narrative space.

49 On Stephen and Philip in particular as advancing the theological-geographic agenda of Acts 1:8, see Keener, *Acts*, 2:1294.

50 Studies on Stephen include Martin H. Scharlemann, *Stephen: A Singular Saint*, AnBib 34 (Rom: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968); and Simon Légasse, *Stephanos: Histoire et discours d'Étienne dans les Actes des Apôtres*, LD 147 (Paris: Cerf, 1992). See also Keener, *Acts*, 2:1281–83, 1294–96; and Adams, *Collected Biography*, 188–90.

51 These are widely noted; see, e.g., David P. Moessner, "The Christ must Suffer': New Light on the Jesus–Peter, Stephen, Paul Parallels in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 28, no. 3 (1986): 220–56; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2:99–100 (Stephen and Jesus); 2:96–98, 114–15, 273 (Stephen and Paul); Légasse, *Stephanos*, 147–48, 219; Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 273–8; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1294–95.

death. Based on these factors, Stephen should be viewed alongside of Peter and Paul as another major figure in Acts.⁵²

In addition, the fact that Stephen is characterized in ways overwhelmingly similar to the apostles (especially Paul) underscores an important point made in the previous chapter: there is fundamental parity, in terms of Christian identity, between apostles and other believers in Acts. Furthermore, in the portion of the narrative in which he is featured (Acts 6:1–7:60), Stephen is the main character in view. That is, the narrative is fundamentally *segmented*: Stephen's portion is distinct from that of other characters he follows and precedes.⁵³

2.2.3 Philip

The segmentation observed with Stephen continues with Philip. Immediately following Stephen's martyrdom, the focus shifts to this similarly remarkable member of the seven, who has a brief yet effective ministry to the Samaritans and the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:5–40; cf. 21:8).⁵⁴ Philip's role as a major figure in Acts is apparent in many ways. First, Philip, like Stephen, is said to perform *σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας* (8:13). Second, by describing Philip as *εὐαγγελίζο- μένω περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ* (8:12), Luke not only connects Philip's actions to a main theme of Luke-Acts (the kingdom), but also evokes a comparison to Jesus, presenting Philip as an ideal disciple (cf. Luke 4:43; 8:1).⁵⁵ Third, unlike some other prominent disciples and apostles, Philip is given direct speech in the narrative, signaling his importance to Luke's program (8:30; cf. 8:35).⁵⁶ Fourth, Philip's actions with the Samaritans and the eunuch pave the way for the full-blown gentile mission that begins with the conversion of Cornelius, and thus his activity "should be understood as a major marker in the spreading of the movement."⁵⁷ Philip, then, is another major character in Acts, appearing

52 Noted by Keener, *Acts*, 2:1282n336.

53 Cf. Sleeman's comments regarding "Stephen-space." Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 258.

54 On Philip in Acts, see Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts*; Patrick Fabien, *Philippe "l'évangéliste": Au tournant de la mission dans les Actes des apôtres*, LD (Paris: Cerf, 2010); and Adams, *Collected Biography*, 190–92. Cf. Sleeman on "Philip-space." Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 258.

55 On parallels between Philip and Jesus and the other disciples, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 281–93; and Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2:104–5. On Philip as an ideal disciple, see Fabien, *Philippe "l'évangéliste,"* 296, 298.

56 Although Acts 8:37 also includes direct speech by Philip, this is likely not original. Strikingly, neither John nor Barnabas is given direct speech as the sole communicator in Acts.

57 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 190. See also Fabien, *Philippe "l'évangéliste,"* 295, 297; and Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts*, 14, 275.

in a largely segmented narrative.⁵⁸ When Philip fades from view at the end of Acts 8, the next major character to come on the scene is Paul.

2.2.4 Other Characters

To focus on Stephen and Philip is not to suggest that they are the only other prominent disciples in Acts. We could go on to include James (Jesus' brother), Ananias, John, and Barnabas.⁵⁹ Neither John nor Barnabas, however, has direct speech attributed solely to them; they are portrayed primarily as companions to Peter and Paul, respectively.⁶⁰ James and Ananias, for their part, while fulfilling vital narrative functions (especially James in Acts 15), occupy a relatively minor portion of narrative space.⁶¹ Therefore, while not wishing to minimize the role of other characters (especially James), we are on firm ground in particularly emphasizing Peter, Stephen, Philip, and Paul as main characters in Acts.⁶²

The Book of Acts, then, is structured in part by largely segmented and successive accounts of major characters who are portrayed, as I have argued, as royal figures. This means that part 2 of the SKNA and part 2 of Luke-Acts are structured in much the same way. Notwithstanding some objections to be addressed in the following section, this structural similarity should be viewed as evidence for influence from the SKNA.

2.3 *Segmentation, Succession, and Characterization*

The observation, made above, that the accounts of Acts' major figures are segmented and successive must be qualified. Concerning segmentation, not only are there cases in which two (or more) characters appear together (e.g., John and Peter or Barnabas and Paul), but, moreover, the segmentation between characters is not strict. To cite two examples, Peter and John together feature prominently in the midst of the Stephen narrative (Acts 8:14–25), while Peter, following the account of Paul's conversion (9:1–30), returns to the foreground for a time before the focus shifts decisively back to Paul (Acts 9:32–12:19).

58 Philip's narrative is not completely segmented from other figures; e.g., Peter and John's visit to Samaria in Acts 8:14–25. See below.

59 On these figures in Acts, see Adams, *Collected Biography*, 187–88 (John), 192–97 (Ananias, James, and Barnabas).

60 John and Barnabas speak in places along with Peter (John) and Paul (Barnabas) (Acts 4:19–20; 14:1, 3, 7; 15:2, 12, 35, etc.). In the separation from Paul over John Mark, Paul speaks while Barnabas's speech is only reported; Acts 15:37.

61 Ananias occupies 0.9% of narrative space; James 0.7%. Including James's interaction with Paul in Acts 21 brings the percentage for James up to 1.5%. Adams, *Collected Biography*, 131.

62 On Peter, Stephen, Philip, and Paul as the main characters in Acts, see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 115; Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," 77; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1294.

Sean Adams addresses both of these features, for they present potential problems for the theory that Acts is collected biography—a genre which generally observed strict segmentation.⁶³ In the case of multiple characters appearing together, Adams points out that it is clear in these instances that there is only one main character in focus at a time.⁶⁴ As for the lack of strict segmentation, Adams proposes that Luke adapted collected biography to suit his other needs and interests, resulting in departures from the norm.⁶⁵

While these solutions are certainly possible, I would like to propose that both of these features are perhaps better explained by assuming a parallel between the kings in the SKNA and the disciples in Acts. Concerning two characters appearing together, although it is rare for two kings to act in concert in the SKNA, this does occur (1 Kgs 22:2–39; 2 Kgs 3:6–7). At the very least, what Adams argues for collected biography holds here as well: even when two major characters appear together in Acts, it is clear that the focus is only on one of them. As for the lack of strict segmentation (including the interweaving of accounts of key characters), this feature poses no problem for the proposed parallel with the SKNA. In fact, it strengthens it. For, in Kings and 2 Chronicles, the interweaving of accounts of kings and other characters is commonplace.⁶⁶ Thus, here again we see that the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA potentially provides a better explanation for the narrative structure of Acts than another alternative.

There is also the issue of succession. For of course in the SKNA each king is literally the successor of his predecessor, which is not the case in Acts. Paul (or Stephen or Philip) is not the successor to Peter the way that Solomon was to David. Peter does not cease to be an apostle (or to live!) when Paul comes on the scene. This objection is not as serious as it seems. For, in the first place, the concept of democratized Davidic identity established in the previous chapter should vastly transform the way that royal authority is exercised in Acts. In particular, it means that any idea of strict monarchical succession from one “king” to the next is out of the question: if all are vice-regents, then one king need not die in order for another to function. In other words, it is perfectly plausible that Luke might retain the *organizational principle* of the SKNA (successive accounts of kingdom agents), though not for the same *reason* (successive

63 See, e.g., Adams, *Collected Biography*, 129, 141, 211.

64 Ibid., 130–32. See also pp. 130, 187 on Peter as the “dominant” character when appearing with John.

65 Ibid., 210–12.

66 For example, Jehoshaphat of Judah is introduced in 1 Kgs 15:24, although his reign is not covered until 22:41–53, with substantial accounts of Israel (including Elijah and Elisha) intervening. Similarly the account of Jehoram's reign (2 Kgs 8:16–24) is interwoven with significant material concerning Israel and Elijah-Elisha.

reigns). Second, despite the lack of monarchical succession, the sequence of major characters in Acts does, in fact, reflect a *redemptive-historical* succession corresponding to the plan signaled by Acts 1:8. As we saw above, after Peter takes the lead in preaching the gospel in Jerusalem, Stephen and Philip move the Acts 1:8 plan forward toward Judea and Samaria, while Paul, by preaching to gentiles, signals the shift toward the end of the earth. This means that, although there is no monarchical succession in the Book of Acts in the manner of SKNA 2, nevertheless the shift from Peter to Stephen to Philip to Paul does indeed signal a sense of redemptive-historical succession that lies at the heart of the plan of Acts.⁶⁷

As for the characterization of the apostles and disciples, this can be summed up briefly: as already argued in the previous chapter, they are presented in overwhelmingly positive terms as “model followers of Jesus.”⁶⁸

The Book of Acts, then, is structured by largely segmented and successive accounts of key figures—royal figures—who act in exemplary ways in bringing the message of the kingdom to the end of the earth. The structure matches the SKNA, while the characterization is, on the whole, its inverse. Additionally, as with the SKNA, not every figure is given equal attention. Some are handled far more extensively than others. This inequality of treatment, though common to other biographical forms besides the SKNA, is yet another parallel with the OT. These parallels, taken together, indicate that the SKNA is likely the source for Luke's portrayal of the apostles and disciples in Acts.

2.4 *Synthesis: Sequence of Major Characters in SKNA 2 and Luke-Acts*

The findings of this section are presented in Table 6.3.

67 Concerning “succession,” several studies have investigated Luke-Acts as a potential example of a succession narrative, including those by Charles Talbert, Thomas Brodie, and Samson Uytanlet. However, for these authors this means the succession from Jesus to his followers, not from one disciple to the next. For a summary of these approaches, see Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 76–81, 91–157. A direct comparison to the DH is made on p. 153.

68 Adams, *Collected Biography*, 160. See also Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the ‘Servant’*, 126–75. In this connection, I also note Craig Keener's intriguing comparison between the role of Peter and Paul in Acts and the role of emperors in imperial biography. See Keener, *Acts*, 1:56n38 (but cf. 57n54). Some have argued that the apostles in Acts are portrayed as disobedient by not initiating mission outside of Jerusalem immediately per Acts 1:8, but this is unlikely. *Ibid.*, 2:1485. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this observation concerning positive characterization holds for *major* characters, not for everybody associated with the Christian movement (e.g., Ananias and Sapphira, Simon the Magician, John-Mark).

TABLE 6.3 Sequence of major characters in SKNA 2 and Luke-Acts

Element	SKNA 2	Acts
Structure of work as related to main characters	Structured in part around successive accounts of major characters	Structured in part around successive accounts of major characters
Main characters overlap or share focus	Occasionally	Often, although with one figure dominant
Segmentation between accounts of main characters	Not strictly observed although a general tendency	Not strictly observed although a general tendency
Characterization of main characters	Generally negative	Overwhelmingly positive

2.5 *Sequence of Major Characters: Conclusion*

The Book of Acts is not about the kingdom of God in the abstract, but rather about its expansion through “pivotal agents.”⁶⁹ Luke chooses to structure his story around successive accounts of key figures, mainly Peter and Paul, but with Stephen, Philip, and other characters receiving attention as well. While this feature is not exclusive to biblical historiography, it is strikingly similar to the progression of kings in SKNA 2. Just as this linear episodic device is a meaningful choice for the OT authors, the same should be said for Acts: there are many ways that Luke could have told his story, and this way of doing so is significant. Although the major figures in Acts do not succeed one another in all the ways that the OT kings do, nevertheless the shift of focus from one to the next underscores the ever-increasing presence of the kingdom, just as the succession of kings accompanied its disintegration in the OT. Thus, here is a further instance of eschatological inversion. It is also, as with theological geography, an instance of structural mimesis: Luke has imitated the literary structure of the SKNA. We add this evidence to the cumulative case of this thesis.

3 *Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries in Acts*

This section, like the previous one, focuses on the Book of Acts. Acts is noted for the presence of speeches, prayers, and summaries, all of which serve either

69 Keener, *Acts*, 1:437.

to structure the narrative, to advance Luke's theological agenda, or both. In this section we will compare Acts with the SKNA, demonstrating not only that the same three features are present in both, but that they function in much the same way. As with some other points in this study, in this section I largely present reasonably settled conclusions on the matters considered, while making some additional observations (particularly concerning Chronicles), and drawing implications for Luke's use of the SKNA.

3.1 *Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries in the SKNA*

3.1.1 The Deuteronomistic History and Samuel-Kings

The work of Martin Noth is perhaps the best starting point for this discussion of speeches, prayers, and summaries.⁷⁰ In his seminal work on the DH, Noth argued that "speeches of anticipation and retrospection," delivered by major characters from Deuteronomy–2 Kings, structure the narrative in fundamental ways:

In particular, at all the important points in the course of the history, [the Deuteronomist] brings forward the leading personages with a speech, long or short, which looks forward and backward in an attempt to interpret the course of events, and draws the relevant practical conclusions about what people should do.⁷¹

Examples include Josh 23 (Joshua's speech concluding the conquest), 1 Sam 12 (Samuel's speech concluding the period of the Judges), and 1 Kgs 8:14–21 (Solomon's speech, including a prayer, concluding the first part of the monarchy). Additionally, Noth noted several "summarizing reflections" in the voice of the narrator that function similarly to speeches and prayers, providing theological interpretation while marking the transition from one period to the next.⁷² Examples include Josh 12, Judg 2:11–23, and 2 Kgs 17:7–23.

This view has achieved a remarkable degree of consensus; Sandra L. Richter numbers the structural function of speeches as one of six "self-evident truths" of the DH.⁷³ Others, such as Frank Moore Cross, Gregory Sterling, and John Van

⁷⁰ Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*. See also Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 21–25.

⁷¹ Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 5. See also pp. 39–40, 42, 50–51, 60, 61.

⁷² Ibid., 6, 39, 43–44, 73. The summary passages referred to by Noth and others are ones that are longer and more broadly focused, in contrast to the many short summaries of the reigns of successive kings which obviously structure Kings on a smaller scale.

⁷³ Richter, "Deuteronomistic History," 228.

Seters, have accepted it while making adjustments to the basic paradigm.⁷⁴ Whatever the compositional history of these OT books, these observations by Noth and others are surely correct on the whole: the DH, including Samuel-Kings, is structured in part around speeches, prayers, and summary passages. This is not to ignore the theological function of these features—quite the contrary. All of them are theologically “load-bearing,” as the studies by Noth and others reveal. In fact, we could say that the reason these features are able to provide structure as they do is precisely because of the way they develop the authors’ theological agendas.

As we turn to Chronicles, I note that while Noth argued that these features are unique to the DH and no other biblical book, this is incorrect. As we shall see, all three are also present in Chronicles, and serve much the same purpose.

3.1.2 Chronicles

Several studies have investigated the role of speeches and prayers in Chronicles.⁷⁵ Concerning speeches, Mark A. Throntveit looked at royal (as opposed to prophetic or priestly) speech and prayers occurring in Chronicles but not in Samuel-Kings. While his category “speech” includes more than just “speeches,” nevertheless a significant subset of royal speech is in the form of addresses, or “orations,” which are similar in both form and function to the speeches in the DH.⁷⁶ Throntveit rightly concludes that the speeches in Chronicles “invariably occur at decisive points in the narrative,” and thus their function is essentially

74 Cross argued that Nathan’s speech to David in 2 Sam 7:4–17 and David’s prayer in 2 Sam 7:18–29 should be added to Noth’s list. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1973), 275. Cross follows D. J. McCarthy, “11 Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History,” *JBL* 84 (1965): 131–38. Sterling emphasized the significance of Solomon’s prayer in 1 Kgs 8:22–53, specifically comparing it to the one in Acts 4:24–30. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 361n258. Van Seters proposed that 1 Kgs 11:1–13 (the DH narrator’s comments concerning Solomon’s failings) should also be counted among the important summaries in the DH, since it also marks a major turning point in the narrative. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 311.

75 See especially Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, SBLDS 93 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987); Throntveit, “The Chronicler’s Speeches and Historical Reconstruction,” in *The Chronicler as Historian*, eds. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 238 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 225–45; and Samuel E. Balentine, “‘You Can’t Pray a Lie’: Truth and Fiction in the Prayers of Chronicles,” in *ibid.*, 245–67. See also Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 36–38.

76 Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 32–50. A chart of all speeches in Chronicles not occurring in Samuel-Kings can be found in Throntveit, “The Chronicler’s Speeches and Historical Reconstruction,” 228.

identical to those found in the DH, reversing Noth's earlier conclusion.⁷⁷ Two other points concerning Chronicles' speeches are relevant for the speeches in Acts.

First, there are simply many more of them than in Samuel-Kings. In this connection I reiterate a point made in chapter 2: several of the Second Temple period texts that rewrite Samuel and Kings add more speeches, prayers, and psalms compared to the source, possibly in an attempt to bring Samuel-Kings more in line with the Chronicler's work.⁷⁸ If this is so, it is not only evidence of mutual influence (not to say interweaving) between the two works, but also perhaps suggests a parallel with Acts, in which more speeches are found than is common in other works of Greco-Roman historiography (see below).

Second, whereas most of the major structural speeches in Samuel-Kings tend to have a negative cast (as Noth noted), many of the Chronicler's royal speeches do not. Instead, they emphasize the peoples' response of trust (2 Chr 13:4–18; 20:20–30; 32:6–8), obedience (1 Chr 13:2–4; 15:11–14; 22:7–19 [cf. 29:23]; 29:20, 2 Chr 14:7 [14:6 LXX]; 20:20–30; 29:3–16; 29:31; 30:4–12), praise and worship (1 Chr 29:20; 2 Chr 20:20–30; 29:3–30; 29:31), and the (short-term) triumph of the kingdom (2 Chr 13:4–18; 14:7 [14:6 LXX]; 20:20–30). I will point out the significance of this observation for Acts below.

As for prayers in Chronicles, their primary purpose is surely to express the Chronicler's theology.⁷⁹ However, as in the DH, this goes hand-in-hand with a structural element: the prayers "appear to be intentionally positioned and shaped for these strategic places in the narrative."⁸⁰ Moreover, when compared to Samuel-Kings, the prayers in Chronicles tend to emphasize the *plan of God* being fulfilled in Israel's history.⁸¹ This point also has relevance for Acts' speeches (see below).

As for summary passages in Chronicles, these have been less studied than either speeches or prayers. It is clear, however, that in addition to the many short summaries found all throughout Chronicles, the one in 2 Chr 36:15–21 serves as a concluding epitaph for the Judahite kingdom.

⁷⁷ Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 8, 21.

⁷⁸ E.g., 4Q160 (= 4Q382), 4Q481a, 6Q9. See ch. 2, as well as Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 183–84.

⁷⁹ Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 8, 21, 51–75; Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 260–64. For the data concerning prayers in Chronicles, see pp. 251–52.

⁸⁰ Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 263. See especially pp. 258–66 on the function of prayer.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 265–66.

3.1.3 Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries in the SKNA: Conclusion

This brief survey has confirmed that speeches, prayers, and summaries are used in similar ways in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, providing narrative structure while furthering theological ends. As for differences, there are more speeches in Chronicles than in Samuel-Kings, and speeches in Chronicles often lead to a positive response on the part of the listeners. We now consider these same features in Acts, first looking at speeches and prayers, and then summaries separately below.

3.2 *Speeches and Prayers in Acts*

The speeches in Acts are one of the book's most striking features. These carefully crafted compositions, about three dozen in number, serve to maintain reader interest, convey Luke's theology, and provide structure for the book.⁸² Although Acts' speeches clearly have a lot in common with those found in other works of Greco-Roman historiography, there are substantial differences.⁸³ For one, the speeches in Acts are much shorter and less rhetorically polished than Greco-Roman ones. For another, no matter how they are counted, there are simply a lot of them; the percentage of space devoted to them in Acts is higher than in comparable Greco-Roman literature.⁸⁴ Possible reasons for these differences include considerations of space, Luke's apologetic and theological aims, and his desire to present models for preaching and ministry.⁸⁵ There is, however, another possible explanation for at least some of Luke's departures from the Greco-Roman norm: influence from the OT, especially the DH.

82 On the speeches in Acts, see Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 184–90; Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven (Mifflintown, PA: Sigler Press, 1999), 135–85; Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1:95–103; George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 114–40; Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 415–27; Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:258–319. I adopt Soards's broad definition of a speech: "a deliberately formulated address to a group of listeners." Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 20. On the number of speeches in Acts, see *ibid.*, 21–22. On the role of Acts' speeches in structuring the narrative, see especially Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 152, 158, 164, 169, 175–76, 182; and Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:37–40.

83 On the similarities, see Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 33–38; Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 134–33; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:258–319. On the importance of speeches in Greco-Roman historiography, see Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 142–68.

84 On some of the differences mentioned here, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:259, 261–62, 269–70; and Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 416–18.

85 See Keener, *Acts*, 1:260, 262, 270; Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 183, 185; and Paul Schubert, "The Final Cycle of the Speeches in Acts," *JBL* 87 (1968): 16.

3.2.1 Acts' Speeches and the DH

There are many obvious similarities between the speeches in Acts and those in the DH. To begin with, Luke's language and style throughout the speeches are heavily influenced by the LXX in general, and the DH and Samuel-Kings in particular.⁸⁶ But the influence goes beyond just language and style. For, as Marion Soards has demonstrated, the speeches of Acts—despite being Greco-Roman in form—are “strikingly similar” in content and function to those in the DH.⁸⁷ This similarity is observed not only in the way that Israel's history is used in both, but also in “the theological perspective of the statements, the idea of witness, and the assumption of divine authority.”⁸⁸ It also especially involves the “repetition of history and threat” seen in the DH and Acts alike.⁸⁹ Gregory Sterling, focusing on the prayer recorded in Acts 4:24–30, similarly observes that the prayer's function closely matches that of Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 8:22–53: both “interpret the course of events.”⁹⁰

Where the similarities between the speeches in Acts and the DH are concerned, however, two of Acts' speeches stand out for special emphasis: Stephen's speech in Acts 7, and Paul's synagogue sermon in Acts 13, both of which we have already looked at elsewhere. Concerning Stephen's speech, I reiterate a point made in chapter 4: Luke, by ending his summary of Israel's history with David and Solomon, indicates that the SKNA (especially the high point in the middle of it) is very much on his mind. But we can go even further. In the first place, there are close similarities between Stephen's critique of Israel and the same feature found in some of the speeches in the DH.⁹¹ There are also specific

86 Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 38–50; Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 143, 160; Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 34–35, 42. For observations regarding SKNA material specifically, see *ibid.*, 35; Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 49; and Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 145, 147.

87 Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 146. See also 143–47, 160–61. Other scholars who have drawn a direct comparison between the speeches of Acts and those of the DH include Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” 178–84; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 357–61; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 76; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:300. For differences between speeches in the DH and those in Acts, see Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 156–57; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:300.

88 Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 146.

89 These features are on evidence in several of Acts' speeches, including especially Acts 4:19–20, Stephen's speech in Acts 7, and Paul's synagogue sermon in Acts 13. On the latter two, see below.

90 Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 361n258. The language specifically echoes 1 Sam 11:4. Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 35.

91 See, e.g., Acts 7:39, 51 (cf. 2 Kgs 17:14). Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 147; Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden in der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 3rd ed., WMANT 5 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 200–1, 203, 208–21. On

verbal and thematic links, including the phrase οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν (Acts 7:11, 12, 15, 38, 39, 44, 45; cf. Deut 6:23; Josh 24:17; 1 Kgs 8:21, 53; see also 1 Chr 29:15; 2 Chr 6:31; 29:6), τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα (Acts 7:39; cf. Deut 4:34; 26:8; etc.), and an emphasis on Moses and the prophets.⁹² Additionally, as with many speeches in the DH, Stephen's speech plays a crucial structuring role in Acts, signaling the beginning of the outward progression of the gospel from Jerusalem (see Acts 1:8; 8:1, 4; 11:19).⁹³ Thus, at a critical turning point in his narrative, Luke features a speech especially influenced by the DH and its speeches in tone and function.

Much the same can be said for Paul's sermon in Acts 13:16–41.⁹⁴ After largely bypassing Pentateuchal material (13:17–20), Paul briefly mentions the judges, Samuel, and Saul before getting to David—the chief figure through whom he interprets Jesus and the resurrection (13:22–37). Although critique of Israel is greatly muted compared to Stephen's speech, nevertheless Paul's sermon also has a subtle negative “Deuteronomic” cast.⁹⁵ It also helps provide structure to the narrative by underscoring the mission to the gentiles signaled by Acts 1:8 (see especially 13:46).⁹⁶

Thus, many speeches in Acts, but especially the two major ones in Acts 7 and 13, show influence from the DH in terms of content, tone, and function. This is not to say that all the features of Acts' speeches can unilaterally be attributed to that source, as Soards, Keener, and others have noted. A noteworthy difference, pointed out by Gregory Sterling, is simply the greater number of speeches in Acts compared to the DH.⁹⁷ However, on the whole, the evidence summarized here confirms that at least some of the features of Acts' speeches ought to be attributed to influence from the DH. As for Sterling's objection, influence from the Book of Chronicles may account for the expansive use of speeches in Acts, as I will explain in the following section.

Stephen's speech in general, see Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 57–70; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:1329–38.

92 Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomic School,” 183–84.

93 See Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:38–40.

94 On Paul's speech, see Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 79–88; and Keener, *Acts*, 2:2050–91. On parallels between Stephen's speech and Paul's sermon, see Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 81. On the theme of the continuation of OT history in the speeches in Acts 7 and 13, see Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 45–50.

95 Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 81, 82, 87–88. Keener, by contrast, prefers to see this sermon as a model of “preaching grace to first-time hearers.” Keener, *Acts*, 2:2055.

96 Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:38.

97 Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 361.

3.2.2 Chronicles

In the rush to compare Acts' speeches to those in the DH, the similarities with the Chronicler's speeches and prayers have been overlooked. In fact, as at so many points throughout this study, considering the additional influence of Chronicles on Luke-Acts yields greater explanatory power than considering Samuel-Kings alone.

To begin with, much that was said concerning speeches in the DH applies to Chronicles as well: in both, speeches serve structural-theological ends. As for specific speeches in Acts, Stephen's speech likely demonstrates influence from Chronicles by portraying David, not Solomon, as the temple builder, while Paul's sermon in Acts 13, based as it is on the Davidic covenant, could draw equally well from 2 Sam 7 or 1 Chr 17.⁹⁸

Additionally, I observed above that many of the royal speeches found in Chronicles are of an altogether different character than those in the DH, being more positive in many cases. If we are looking for accurate OT parallels for the speeches in Acts, we would do well to consider the effect the speeches have on their audience in the narrative. In the case of many of Acts' speeches—delivered, as I am arguing, by figures whom Luke characterizes in royal terms—we can in places observe the same response of trust, obedience, praise, and triumph found in the royal speeches of Chronicles (Acts 2:42–47; 6:5–7; 11:18; 13:48–49; 15:22 [cf. 1 Chr 13:4]).⁹⁹

Furthermore, although caution is necessary at this point, the higher percentage of speeches in Acts compared to the DH may also subtly point to influence from Chronicles. As pointed out above, not only does Chronicles contain more speeches than Samuel-Kings, but the Second Temple Jewish literature that rewrites Samuel-Kings tends to alter it precisely by including more speeches, prayers, and psalms than the original. In light of this, as well as the observed proclivity of Second Temple Jewish authors to conflate material from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, it may be that the greater percentage of speeches in Acts is not, strictly speaking, something that points *away* from influence from the DH (as Sterling suggested), so much as something that points *toward* the additional influence of Chronicles. That is, it is possible that Luke is influenced in this respect not by the DH in isolation, but rather for *how it was read through Chronicles*. As at so many other points, assuming influence from Chronicles helps to explain an unusual feature of Luke-Acts.

98 See ch. 4.

99 A rare acknowledgment of the influence of Chronicles on the speeches of Luke-Acts is found in Bruner, "Harmony and Historiography," 85.

3.2.3 Speeches and Prayers in Acts: Conclusion

The speeches and prayers in Acts are likely influenced by those in the SKNA (including Chronicles) in terms of their language, function, and purpose. In both, they serve to summarize, give theological perspective, and transition to the following section. Moreover, if the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA (not just the DH) is correct, then the surprising fact of Luke's inclusion of more speeches relative to the DH and Greco-Roman historiography would be expected and natural.

3.3 *Summaries in Acts*

Summaries in Acts require separate treatment.¹⁰⁰ There are three substantial summary *passages* in Acts (2:42–47; 4:32–35; 5:12–16), and many other short summary *statements* reporting the flourishing and increase of the churches and the word of God.¹⁰¹ The function of the former can be summed up in a few words: they describe the “exemplary life” of the early Jerusalem church, including its rich community character and explosive numerical growth.¹⁰² As for the latter, Ben Witherington and others have argued that the shorter summary statements serve a different purpose than the summary passages: they signal Acts’ structure, whereas the three longer passages portray “the interior life of the community.”¹⁰³ This distinction, however, must not be pressed too far. Andy Chambers, in his thorough work on the rhetoric of summarization in Acts, highlights four features of narrative summaries in general which are shared by the longer and shorter summaries alike.¹⁰⁴ He also points out specific

100 The best study is perhaps Andy Chambers, *Exemplary Life: A Theology of Church Life in Acts* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2012). For a review of other research, see pp. 6, 14–22. See also Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 157–63; Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 9–10, 127; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:992–93.

101 Examples of summary statements include Acts 1:14; 2:41; 4:31; 5:11, 5:41–42; 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 13:1, 49, 52; 16:5; 19:20; 28:30–31. Some of these statements occur immediately before the summary passages.

102 Chambers, *Exemplary Life*. While I set aside the question of sources for Luke-Acts in this study, there is strong consensus that the summary passages are Lukan creations. See Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 9–10, 127; and Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 158.

103 Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 157–60. Witherington identifies Acts 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20 as structuring summaries. In this he follows earlier scholarship, including A. Q. Morton and G. H. C. MacGregor, *The Structure of Luke and Acts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 41–42. Morton and MacGregor also include Acts 28:30–31 as a structuring summary. The distinction between the shorter and longer summaries is also followed by Keener, *Acts*, 1:992–93.

104 These are *telling* (direct reports of the narrator, as opposed to *showing*), *defocalization* (shift toward a wider perspective), *acceleration* (speeding up narrative time), and *iteration* (describing ongoing conditions). Chambers, *Exemplary Life*, 41–46.

verbal links between the two types of summaries, including the distinctive use of imperfect rather than aorist verb forms. The most likely explanation for these similar features is that Luke wishes to show that the ideal church life expressed initially in the Jerusalem-based summary passages is getting passed on to the gentile churches later on in Acts.¹⁰⁵ In other words, the longer summaries exert a controlling influence on the shorter ones, and both should be considered together as having substantially similar functions. It may be true that the shorter ones are oriented more toward structure, but this must not be pressed too far. The shorter ones are also pregnant with implied practical theology as well, and both serve a structural-theological purpose.

Although summarization was a common feature in Greco-Roman writing, it is also, as we saw above, a distinctive feature of the SKNA, where it is used in similar ways as in Acts.¹⁰⁶ In both, summary statements are used to structure the narrative and convey the authors' ideas. Moreover, in both they are also used to describe ongoing conditions, whether negative (SKNA) or positive (Acts).¹⁰⁷ In addition, Chambers points out that the summary passages in Acts follow an A–B–A' chiastic pattern, a feature shared with the summaries of Solomon's reign in the SKNA (1 Kgs 4:20–24; 10:23–29; 2 Chr 9.22–28).¹⁰⁸ As with speeches and prayers, we cannot insist on a point-for-point correspondence between the summaries in Acts and the SKNA, nor can we discount influence from Luke's Greco-Roman environment. Nevertheless taken as a whole there are sufficient grounds for seeing at least some influence from the SKNA in Luke's use of them.

3.4 *Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries in Acts: Conclusion*

In the preceding discussion I argued that Luke's use of speeches, prayers, and summaries is a plausible additional point of influence from the SKNA. As at many other points throughout this study, considering the influence of Chronicles yields greater explanatory value than considering Samuel-Kings alone. While Luke, writing as he does at the intersection between two worlds, shows influence from his Greco-Roman environment as well, on this point the influence of the OT seems particularly salient.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 47–49, 54–58.

¹⁰⁶ On summaries in Greco-Roman literature, see *ibid.*, 41–46; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:992–93. The summary was not a clearly defined form, however, and there was much variety and flexibility in its presentation. Similarities between SKNA summaries and those in Acts are noted by Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 360.

¹⁰⁷ Noted with special reference to 2 Chr 36:15–16 by Chambers, *Exemplary Life*, 44.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 50.

3.5 *Synthesis: Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries in the SKNA and Luke-Acts*

The similarities between the SKNA and Acts concerning speeches, prayers, and summaries are expressed in Table 6.4. Unlike some other tables, here Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are distinguished, owing to differences between the two on this point.

3.6 *Speeches, Prayers, and Summaries: Conclusion*

Both Acts and the SKNA use speeches, prayers, and summaries as major structural-theological features. While the speeches and summaries in Acts also have elements in common with Hellenistic literature, it is likely that they are influenced by the speeches in the SKNA. In both, they serve to summarize, give perspective, and transition to the following section. This structural parallel is another example of the influence of the SKNA on Luke-Acts. Moreover, it is another instance of structural mimesis.

3.7 *On Structuring Narratives*

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that the structure of Acts is based on geography; on the sequence of major characters; and on speeches, prayers, and summaries. In this connection two points must be emphasized. First, none of these structural devices was inevitable or obvious. That is, there are many

TABLE 6.4 Speeches, prayers, and summaries in the SKNA and Luke-Acts

Element	Samuel-Kings	Chronicles	Acts
Function of Speeches	Provide narrative structure and express theology	Provide narrative structure and express theology	Provide narrative structure and express theology
Relative quantity of speeches	[baseline]	More than Samuel-Kings	More than in comparable Greco-Roman literature
Tone of Speeches	Overwhelmingly negative	Mixed; some positive, some negative	Mixed (depending on audience); some positive, some negative
Function of Prayers	[included in speeches]	Express theology and provide narrative structure	Few prayers; express theology
Function of Summaries	Narrative structure + theology	Narrative structure + theology	Narrative structure + theology

ways of structuring historical narratives, and Luke could have chosen a different one. He could, for example, have followed the lead of some Greco-Roman historians in employing a chronological structure.¹⁰⁹ That he did not do so, but chose instead to structure Acts in the unique way that he did, should be construed as intentional and meaningful. Second, it might be objected that all of these features could not possibly be employed *at the same time* to structure the work. But this is simply not the case. Not only are multiple structures commonly noted for Acts (including the three proposed here),¹¹⁰ but moreover the books of SKNA 2 exhibit this same phenomenon of overlapping structural features—including *the same three* seen in Acts. That is, both Kings and 2 Chronicles are structured simultaneously by the sequence of major characters (kings) and by speeches, prayers, and summaries, all within a framework of theologically-driven geography. Not only, then, is there precedent for such a complex, overlapping structural scheme, but moreover it seems that Luke's choice to employ a structure for Acts that is similar in substantial respects to that used in the SKNA qualifies as yet another surprising fact that is rendered expected and natural by the present thesis.

4 Luke's Approach to Historiography

I conclude this chapter with some brief observations on some additional aspects of Luke's historiography that plausibly can be linked to the SKNA, or at the very least to the OT in general. I will focus on the theme of *promise and fulfillment*. Unlike the previous two sections, this one contains evidence from both Luke and Acts.

4.1 *Promise and Fulfillment in Luke-Acts*

Particularly since the studies of Paul Schubert in the mid-twentieth century, scholars have paid considerable attention to the theme of promise and fulfillment in Luke-Acts.¹¹¹ By *promise and fulfillment* I mean, in line with usage com-

109 As did Thucydides and Livy. See Adams, *Collected Biography*, 140. Luke is obviously aware of some identifiable chronological markers; e.g., Luke 3:1; Acts 18:2.

110 See especially Keener, *Acts*, 1:574–76. Pesch similarly notes multiple interlocking structures including geography, speeches and summaries, and sequence of characters (especially Peter and Paul), all connected to Luke's missional-theological aims. Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:36–42.

111 Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1954*, ed. Walther Eltester, BZNW 21 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954), 165–86; Schubert, "The Final Cycle of the Speeches

mon in this discussion, a broad motif that concerns God's activity in history to keep commitments made at an earlier time. This includes specific promises and prophecies made by him or his authorized agents, whether these were made in the OT or within the narrative of Luke-Acts.¹¹² This motif is expressed by a wide range of words and concepts, including ἐπαγγελία (Luke 24:49; cf. Acts 2:33), λέγω (i.e., τὸ εἰρημένον ["that which was spoken" by a prophet]; Acts 2:16; 13:40), and words of "fulfillment" and "[pre-]determination" (e.g., πληρώω, πίμπλημι, πληροφορέω, ὀρίζω, προορίζω, etc.).¹¹³

Promise and fulfillment material is found all throughout Luke's double work, much of it having to do with the fulfillment of the OT. Examples include: the promises to Abraham fulfilled in Luke 1:54–55 (cf. Acts 3:25); the Isaiah prophecy fulfilled in Jesus's Nazareth sermon (Luke 4:17–21; cf. Isa 61:1–2; 58:6); Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX) fulfilled on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:16–21); the "prophet like Moses" prophecy of Deut 18:15–20 fulfilled in Acts 3:22–23 and 7:37; and Isa 6:9–10 cited at the end of the Book of Acts (28:26–27). Other instances have to do with the fulfillment of words first spoken within Luke and Acts. Examples of these include: Jesus's many passion predictions (Luke 9:22, 31, 44; 12:50; 13:33–35; 17:25; 18:31–33); the promise of the Holy Spirit fulfilled on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4; cf. Luke 24:49); the gentile inclusion of Acts foreshadowed in the Gospel (Acts 13:47 etc.; cf. Luke 2:32); and Acts 1:8 as a programmatic pronouncement fulfilled throughout the course of that book.

in Acts," 1–16; David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); Charles H. Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 91–103; William S. Kurz, S.J., "Promise and Fulfillment in Hellenistic Jewish Narratives and in Luke and Acts," in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, ed. David P. Moessner, vol. 1 of *Luke the Interpreter of Israel*, ed. David P. Moessner and David L. Tiede (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 147–70; Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*; Keener, *Acts*, 1:483–85, 1:925–38.

112 See Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment," 93–95; and Kurz, "Promise and Fulfillment," 148–55. Promise and fulfillment ought, in turn, to be situated within a larger discussion concerning *theopraxis* (divine involvement) in Luke's writings, expressed in part by means of words such as δεῖν and βουλῇ. On *theopraxis* in Luke-Acts, see Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, 27–34. Although *theopraxis* is an important element in the Greco-Roman cultural and literary milieu, Luke's usage of it is rooted in the OT and his Second Temple Jewish context. *Ibid.*, 44. For full discussion, see pp. 35–69. *Theopraxis*, in turn, plugs in to an even larger discussion concerning the concept of *salvation history* in Luke-Acts. On *salvation history* in Luke-Acts, see Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 1–85; and Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 179–80.

113 It can also be indicated more subtly by means of pronouncements that come to pass, whether or not fulfillment is explicitly indicated (e.g., Agabus's prophecy in Acts 21:10–11; cf. v. 33, and Paul's words to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:25; cf. v. 38).

These explicit examples are just the tip of the iceberg, but they are sufficient to establish that promise and fulfillment is a significant theme of Luke-Acts.

This is not to say that promise and fulfillment is the only (or the best) way to describe Luke's overall interaction with the OT.¹¹⁴ Surely Luke does more than just indicate that the events of his two part work are the fruition of OT themes, prophecies, and trajectories. But the present point is that he does not do less than this. Luke makes it clear, from the opening words of his Gospel to the closing words of Acts, that one of his chief concerns is to narrate the events of Jesus and the disciples as the fulfillment of authoritative words spoken in advance by God and his agents.

4.1.1 The SKNA Roots of Luke's Promise and Fulfillment

Although the idea that God is true to his word runs throughout the entire OT, promise and fulfillment is associated in an emphatic way with the books of the DH, especially Samuel-Kings. Arguably the most salient example of this is the divine promise to David in 2 Sam 7, which exerts an enormous influence on the remainder of Samuel and Kings.¹¹⁵ Similarly, the comments on Israel's exile in 2 Kgs 17 and on Judah's exile in 2 Kgs 25 are presented in terms of the clear fulfillment of the Deuteronomistic curses enumerated in Deut 28.¹¹⁶ In addition, Samuel-Kings is marked by numerous smaller-scale prophecies and promises that come to pass all throughout the narrative.¹¹⁷ Clearly, the DH in general, and Samuel-Kings in particular, are marked by a strong promise-fulfillment motif.

Luke's promise-fulfillment scheme is tied directly to the DH—especially Samuel-Kings—in many ways. First, in light of Luke's prominent Davidic Christology, we ought to understand Luke's Davidic portrait of Jesus in terms of the direct fulfillment of the promises spoken to David in 2 Sam 7, as indicated by texts such as Luke 1:32, Acts 7:46, and Acts 13:20–23. Second, as I argued in chapter 4, in light of the parallels between the beginning of Luke and the beginning of 1 Samuel, we should conclude that Luke presents John

114 Two critics of a simple promise-fulfillment scheme as being fundamental for Luke-Acts are Darrell Bock and Kenneth Litwak. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*; Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*; Litwak, "The Use of the OT in Luke-Acts." See also Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment," 93–94.

115 On this point, see especially Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 271–77, 307–11, 321. See also McCarthy, "1 Samuel 7," 131–38.

116 Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment," 97.

117 Examples include: the prophecy of the bones burned on the altar (1 Kgs 13:1–4; cf. 2 Kgs 23:15–20), prophecies concerning Ahab's death (1 Kgs 21:17–19; 22:17–23; cf. 22:34–38), and Elisha's prophecy of victory over Moab (2 Kgs 3:16–19; cf. 3:20–27).

the Baptist as “Samuel come-again”—a remarkable instance of “fulfillment” broadly understood.¹¹⁸ Third, Acts 3:24 explicitly ties the events unfolding in Acts to the prophetic ministries of “all the prophets *from Samuel* and those following” (cf. 2 Chr 35:18). Finally, concerning the wider DH, the “prophet like Moses” of Deut 18:15–20 is not only explicitly evoked in Acts 3:22–23 and 7:37, but also informs a general prophetic typology found elsewhere.¹¹⁹

Once again, as we have seen all throughout this study, when it comes to promise and fulfillment we must consider Chronicles as well. We are on safe ground, given that book’s absorption of the basic narrative structure of Samuel-Kings, in seeing promise and fulfillment in the Chronicler’s work as well.¹²⁰ As for specifics, in the first place, what was said above concerning the promise to David in Samuel-Kings applies equally well to Chronicles—in fact, it is arguably amplified.¹²¹ Second, the narrator’s summary in 2 Chr 36:15–16, much like the similar summaries in 2 Kgs 17 and 25, frames the exile in terms of God’s unbending fidelity to his prophetic word spoken long before. Third, Chronicles concludes with a monumental example of fulfillment not found in the DH: the decree of Cyrus in 2 Chr 36:22–23 to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, which shows God fulfilling his promises to restore his people after exile.¹²² Finally, the genealogies that begin the book of Chronicles testify in a powerful way to God’s faithfulness to his post-exilic people. As was noted in chapter 4, 1 Chronicles and Luke are the only books in the Old or New Testaments containing genealogies stretching from Adam to the book’s present day. Since Luke’s genealogy, as we saw, shows verbal dependence on Chronicles, there is no reason we should not also see influence from Chronicles in Luke’s *purpose* for including it: both demonstrate God’s unswerving faithfulness to his promises.¹²³

We should, therefore, surely include Luke’s overall promise-fulfillment scheme as yet another example of the influence—albeit subtle—of the SKNA. Furthermore, on the current thesis, Luke-Acts as a whole stands as perhaps the ultimate example of this motif in the NT. That is, by absorbing the narrative

¹¹⁸ Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke’s Gospel*, 58–59 (quotation on 58).

¹¹⁹ Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts*, 58–63; Evans, “The Central Section of Luke’s Gospel,” 37–53; Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel’s Legacy*, 237.

¹²⁰ On the importance of fulfillment in Chronicles see especially Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* 159–65; and Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 148–52. On prophets and prophecy in general in Chronicles, in positive comparison with Samuel-Kings, see Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 65, 68–70.

¹²¹ See, e.g., 2 Chr 1:9 and 21:7, not found in Kings, which specifically invoke God’s faithfulness to the Davidic promise later in Israel’s history.

¹²² Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 151–52. Second Chronicles 36:22–23 is likely the original ending of Chronicles. *Ibid.*, 145–47.

¹²³ Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 498; Nolland, *Luke*, 1:174.

structure of the SKNA, from the heights of David to the depths of exile, and by showing the ways that this narrative gets transformed in the life of the Davidic king Jesus and his royal followers, Luke signifies that the events of the end-time in which he writes are the outworking and ultimate fulfillment of a plan and pattern set into motion long ago.

4.2 *Other Elements of SKNA Historiography*

In addition to promise and fulfillment, the influence of the SKNA on the historiography of Luke-Acts is on display in several additional ways as well.¹²⁴ One of these is Luke's retribution theology, seen for example in Acts 5:1–11 (Ananias and Sapphira) and 12:20–23 (the death of Herod).¹²⁵ Another is the phrase “the God of our fathers” (ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν), occurring four times in Acts, which in the OT is found mainly in the DH and Chronicles.¹²⁶ Even Luke's fondness for parallels, patterns, and contrasts may be influenced by similar features in the DH.¹²⁷ As for Chronicles, Ron Bruner highlights several features of Luke's historiography that are shared with the Chronicler.¹²⁸

4.3 *Omniscience and Anonymity*

Two other related elements of Luke's historiography, easily overlooked, tie it firmly to OT historiography, if not the SKNA: his omniscient mode of narration and his anonymity. Despite the first person used in the prologues of

124 For the points mentioned here and others, see Schmidt, “The Historiography of Acts”; and Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School.” For several points of comparison between the historiography of the DH and Chronicles, see Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There?,” 82–84. For a helpful summary of authors who have emphasized Luke's OT historiography in general, see Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, 33–35.

125 For OT parallels with the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (including 2 Sam 6:6–7, 2 Kgs 1:10, 12, 2 Kgs 2:23–24, and 1 Chr 13:9–10), see Keener, *Acts*, 2:193. Dillard notes Acts 5:1–10 as an example of Chronicles-type retribution in the NT. Dillard, “Reward and Punishment in Chronicles,” 172. On Herod, see especially Allen, *The Death of Herod*. For retribution theology in the SKNA, see ch. 2.

126 See Acts 3:13; 5:30; 7:32; and 22:14 (with Acts 7:32 having the singular σου in place of ἡμῶν). Acts 24:14 has the similar τῷ πατρίω θεῷ. In the OT, “God of the fathers” (אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹת; ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων [and variations]), occurs eleven times in Deuteronomy, and twenty-six times in Chronicles. Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” 184.

127 Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 321; Schmidt, “The Historiography of Acts,” 424. Concerning contrasts, the one between Peter and Herod in Acts 12:17–23 or between Jesus's disciples and the resistant Jewish leaders may be relevant.

128 These include similar treatment of sources, a good beginning and ending, and a vivid narrative. Bruner, “Harmony and Historiography,” 85–90. Also highlighting similarities between Luke's historiography and Chronicles is Brodie, “A New Temple and a New Law.”

Luke and Acts and in the “we” sections in Acts, for the most part Luke “slips behind the narrator ... in a consistent third person mode.”¹²⁹ This omniscience includes a sense of *divine omniscience* as Luke, in places, identifies his authorial perspective with that of the sovereign God of Israel (e.g., Luke 3:1–6; Acts 1:3–4). The parallel with the historical books of the OT should be apparent. Moreover, the fact that Luke does not name himself, despite including a formal Greco-Roman prologue, is indeed “striking.”¹³⁰ But what would have been odd to a Greco-Roman reader becomes immediately intelligible in light of the anonymous historiography we find all throughout the OT. By remaining anonymous, Luke, like all the Gospel writers, imitates “the model of the Old Testament books from Genesis to 2 Kings as well as 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.”¹³¹

4.4 *Luke’s Approach to Historiography: Conclusion*

In this section I presented several elements of Luke’s historiography that arguably can be traced back to the SKNA. We saw that Luke’s promise-fulfillment scheme is derived not merely from the OT in general, but from the SKNA in particular. Some additional elements of Luke’s historiography suggest influence from the SKNA as well, while his omniscience and anonymity confirm the impression that he is writing in the style of the OT. We add this data to our cumulative case.

5 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we looked at four aspects of Luke-Acts that reflect influence from the SKNA. We saw that Luke conveys a distinctive sense of theological geography that is firmly grounded in Israel’s earlier two-part history. We also looked at two other structural elements of Acts in particular: the sequence of major characters, and Luke’s use of speeches, prayers, and summaries. Both of these strongly suggest influence from Kings and 2 Chronicles. Finally, we noted several features of Luke’s historiography—including promise and fulfillment and retribution theology—that are influenced by the OT in general and the SKNA in particular. Each of these elements is a surprising fact that cries out for

129 Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel’s Legacy*, 54.

130 Armin D. Baum, “The Anonymity of the New Testament History Books: A Stylistic Device in the Context of Greco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature,” *NovT* 50 (2008): 120. In this, Luke departs from the nearly universal mode of Greco-Roman historiography (including, e.g., Josephus).

131 *Ibid.*, 131.

explanation. If the present thesis is correct, these features, both individually and taken together, would be expected and natural. Moreover, most of these signify a sense of eschatological inversion: Luke, in the way he echoes the earlier narrative, reverses its sad trajectory of failure and portrays its end-time fulfillment as a story of God's joyful triumph. In the following chapter we will see yet other ways that Luke signals his use of the SKNA, woven into the very structural fabric of his narrative at its crucial beginning and ending points.

Luke the Chronicler: Beginnings and Endings

The beginning reaches as far as the end.

POLYBIUS, *Hist.* 5.32.2



Beginnings and endings of narratives, in antiquity as now, were crucial for communicating an author's purposes.¹ In chapter 4 we looked at the beginning of Luke, noting the oft-recognized echo of the beginning of 1 Samuel. We also emphasized Luke's subtlety: he does not shout, but merely whispers his dependence on the earlier model. For many scholars, however, this is where the narrative parallels with Book of Samuel end. We have already suggested in chapter 4 that they hardly end there, and additional parallels with Samuel (and 1 Chronicles) were presented that extend throughout the Gospel of Luke. In this chapter we will explore even further narrative parallels between the SKNA and Luke-Acts which occur at the beginnings and endings of both works. I will argue that at the end of his Gospel Luke echoes the ending of SKNA 1, while at the beginning and ending of Acts Luke likewise echoes the corresponding

1 On the importance of beginnings, endings, or both in ancient literature, see, John Marincola, "Concluding Narratives: Looking to the End in Classical Historiography," in *Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar, Twelfth Volume 2005: Greek and Roman Poetry, Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. Francis Cairns (Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2005); Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 182–85; Daniel Marguerat, "The Enigma of the Silent Closing of Acts (28:16–31)," in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, ed. David P. Moessner, vol. 1 of *Luke the Interpreter of Israel*, ed. David P. Moessner and David L. Tiede (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 288–93; Adams, *Collected Biography*, 233–42; and Troy M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered: A Study of the Ending of Acts within its Literary Environment*, WUNT 2/280 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 47–50, 61–113. On the importance of the beginnings and endings of the Gospels, see Morna D. Hooker, "Beginnings and Endings," in *The Written Gospel*, eds. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 184–202. On Luke and/or Acts in particular, see Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 16–21; Hannah M. Cocksworth, "Zechariah and Gabriel as Thematic Characters: A Narratological Reading of the Beginning of Luke's Gospel (Luke 1:8–20)," in *Characters and Characterization in Luke-Acts*, eds. Frank Dicken and Julia Snyder, LNTS 548 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 41–54; and Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 144–45.

portions of SKNA 2. This means that not only are there discernible thematic and verbal parallels with the SKNA throughout Luke's double work, but, moreover, they are in *all the right places*. These synchronized correspondences at key points throughout Luke-Acts strongly suggest that Luke has relied on the SKNA as a basic literary model.² We begin, however, with a few words concerning Luke's preface.

1 The Beginning of Luke: Luke's Preface

In chapter 4 I presented a narrative parallel with 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke as a key piece of evidence of Luke's reliance on the SKNA. However, the true beginning of Luke's Gospel is not the infancy narrative, but rather the preface (Luke 1:1–4). At the very least, the preface indicates that Luke was a capable Greco-Roman author who intended to write a work of historiography. But we can say more. What does the preface tell us, if anything, about the possibility that Luke imitated the SKNA?

First, although the preface is emphatically Greco-Roman in character, this does not invalidate the claim of profound reliance on the OT as argued in this study. Luke writes “between two worlds”: the Greco-Roman one, and the OT one. In fact, leaving aside any possible influence from the SKNA, we can observe this simply by noting the shift, in Luke 1:5, to the world of the OT, with the infancy narrative's Septuagintalisms and general OT character. The preface is not evidence against OT influence, but simply evidence for Luke's concern with the Greco-Roman ethos alongside of the OT one.

Second, although the preface indicates Luke's intention to write a work of historiography, this does not invalidate the claim concerning literary mimesis of the SKNA. As already established in chapter 3, the use of mimesis was standard practice in Greco-Roman historiography. This included verbal, generic, dispositional, continuational, and structural mimesis. Some Second Temple Jewish texts also use earlier texts as literary models.³ The technical character of the preface is consistent with Luke's use of mimesis of the SKNA.⁴

Third, some features of the preface, while not explicitly pointing toward the SKNA, are congenial to the thesis that Luke used it as a literary model. In Luke 1:1, Luke indicates that his account will be *περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων*.

2 I refer back to discussion in ch. 1 of Dennis MacDonald's methodology, especially the criterion of a similar “Order of Events” to detect literary mimesis.

3 E.g., 1 Maccabees; Tobit. See ch. 2.

4 See also the section on “Literary Mimesis and Historicity” in ch. 1.

While this language of *fulfillment* is not unambiguously a reference to the fulfillment of the OT Scriptures, much less the SKNA, Fitzmyer is correct to observe that “the emphasis in the Lucan writings on the fulfillment of what was spoken of in the OT seems to call for [such a] meaning of the verb here.”⁵ This would be congruent with an intention to imitate and “fulfill” the narrative arc of the SKNA.⁶ Also possibly of interest is καθεξῆς in Luke 1:3, which indicates Luke’s desire to write “in order.”⁷ This too would be consistent with an intention to imitate the SKNA. In this regard, the evidence in this chapter concerning the all-important beginnings and endings of Luke and Acts are of special interest. In short, Luke’s preface is consistent with the current thesis.

2 The Ending of Luke: Preparing for Kingdom and Temple

2.1 *Distinctive Elements of the Ending of Luke*

Although all the Gospels end with accounts of events following Jesus’s crucifixion, each has its own unique perspective.⁸ Especially where the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, whatever their literary relationship, these differences must be taken into account when attempting to understand each author’s aims. In the case of Luke’s Gospel, the ending, in the first place, is the longest (Luke 24:1–53), more than twice the length of Matthew’s.⁹ But it is the content of this material that is of particular interest for the comparison with Samuel-Kings and Chronicles:

- *Preparation*: In Matthew, Jesus commands his apostles to make disciples (Matt 28:18–20). In Luke, the emphasis is instead on preparation for this task. This involves the interpretation of Scripture (24:25–27, 44–47), illumination (24:45), commissioning of appointed representatives (24:48), and specific instructions, including transmission of a plan (24:49; cf. Acts 1:8). In Acts, we learn that this preparation is for a new phase of the kingdom

5 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 293; Bock, *Luke*, 1:57. Also of note is ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου (Luke 1:2).

6 On “fulfillment” language, see “Promise and Fulfillment in Luke-Acts” in ch. 6.

7 While the range of possibilities for what Luke meant by καθεξῆς here is wide, it is, best to construe it as referring to an “ordering principle,” whether of a historical, or, better, literary nature. Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 298–99; Nolland, *Luke*, 9–10.

8 See Hooker, “Beginnings and Endings,” 196–202; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X–XXIV)*, AB 28a (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 1533–37. On the ending of Luke in particular, see Troy M. Troftgruben, “The Ending of Luke Revisited,” *JBL* 140, no. 2 (2021): 325–46.

9 Luke 24:1–53 contains 818 words in 53 verses. Matthew has 329 words in 20 verses. Mark, based on the shorter ending, has 136 words in 8 verses. Word counts are from the BibleWorks Greek Text (BGT), BibleWorks v. 10.

(1:6, 8). In the following section of this chapter I will argue that this preparation is also for a new temple-presence.

- *Addresses*: The preparation involves several addresses by Jesus to his disciples (Luke 24:25–27, 38–39, 44, 46–49; cf. Matt 28:18–20).
- *Jerusalem*: Consistent with the beginning of his Gospel, and contrasted with Matthew’s emphasis on Galilee, Luke uniquely emphasizes Jerusalem in his post-resurrection accounts (24:33, 47, 49).
- *The temple*: The Gospel ends where it began, in the Jerusalem temple. The disciples are there “continually” (διὰ παντός; 24:53).
- *Anticipation*: In Luke there is a palpable sense of anticipation for what will soon commence from Jerusalem (24:47–49; cf. Acts 1:6–8).
- *Eating with the king*: In Luke, the risen Jesus eats with his disciples (24:41–43; cf. Acts 10:41).
- *Jesus’s blessing* of the disciples and their response: In Luke alone, Jesus blesses the disciples (εὐλογέω; 24:50, 51). The disciples in turn bless (i.e., praise) God in the temple (εὐλογέω; 24:53).¹⁰ Although not unique to Luke, the disciples’ response to Jesus also includes bowing before him (προσκυνέω; 24:52 [cf. Matt 28:9, 17]), and great joy (χαρὰς μεγάλης; 24:52 [cf. Matt 28:8]).
- *Jesus’s departure*: Only Luke includes an account of Jesus’s ascension (24:50–51; cf. Acts 1:9–12).

The significance of these details can be appreciated when compared with the ending of SKNA 1, especially 1 Chronicles.

2.2 *The Ending of 1 Chronicles*

Unlike in many places throughout this study, here I begin with Chronicles, not Samuel-Kings, because it is with respect to Chronicles that the similarities with the SKNA at the end of Luke are most apparent. This is not a case of cherry-picking or special pleading. In chapter 2 we established that throughout the Second Temple period Samuel-Kings and Chronicles tended to be read synoptically. When later authors interacted with these works, they generally tended to conflate the accounts, with the details of the two interwoven in various ways according to the author’s needs or tastes.¹¹ Therefore, if we wish to evaluate the potential use of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts (including as a literary template), we must consider that at any given point Luke may have prioritized or emphasized the account in Chronicles over the

10 The theme of blessing is noticed by Troftgruben, “The Ending of Luke Revisited,” 332, 336.

11 As noted in ch. 2, the general pattern was to favor Samuel-Kings, with Chronicles seen as a supplement.

one in Samuel-Kings. Thus, in this section I focus on the ending of 1 Chronicles, since that is where the similarities with Luke seem the clearest.¹²

The ending of 1 Chronicles (chs. 21–29), compared to 2 Samuel (chs. 22–24), is far longer, consisting mostly of material unique to the Chronicler.¹³ This material has several emphases that are similar to those observed at the end of Luke:

- *Preparation* (for temple and kingdom):¹⁴ Although prohibited from building the temple himself, David nevertheless takes great pains to see that it will be built. This includes physical preparations (1 Chr 22:1–5), instructions to Solomon (22:6–19), appointment of people for temple building and service (23:2–26:28), and transmission of a divine plan (28:11–19). There is also preparation for kingdom administration: David appoints Solomon as king (23:1), and also appoints various executive and military functionaries (26:29–27:34).
- *Addresses* to Solomon and the people: David speaks to Solomon and the people, encouraging them to build the temple (28:1–29:9). This is followed by David's final prayer of thanksgiving and praise (29:10–19).
- *Jerusalem*: The narrative portion takes place in Jerusalem (1 Chr 28:1).
- *Anticipation*: there is a palpable sense of anticipation regarding the temple and succession to Solomon.
- *Eating with the king*: David eats with his people (1 Chr 29:22).
- *The peoples' response*: As in many other places in Chronicles, David's address is followed immediately by the people's proper response. This includes joy (1 Chr 29:8–9), and even bowing down (προσκυνέω) before David (1 Chr 29:20).
- *David's departure*: First Chronicles ends with an account of David's departure (i.e., his death; 29:28).

¹² For some observations on the relevance of the ending of 2 Samuel, see below.

¹³ Only the account of David and the census (1 Chr 21:1–22:1) is based on Samuel. On viewing all of 1 Chr 21–29 as a unit comprising the ending of 1 Chronicles, see, e.g., Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 10, 12; and Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 24. Others (e.g., Braun, *1 Chronicles*, xli, 219) demarcate chs. 22–29. On viewing 1 Chr 22–29 as substantially the Chronicler's work, see especially Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 2004), 788–98. As noted in ch. 2, the LXX translators divided the Hebrew Book of Chronicles into two parts at the death of David, which seemed like a natural midpoint. This “proved influential.” Gary N. Knoppers and Paul B. Harvey, Jr., “Omitted and Remaining Matters: On the Names Given to the Book of Chronicles in Antiquity,” *JBL* 121, no. 2 (2002): 234n34.

¹⁴ On *preparation* as the main theme of chs. 22–29, see M. J. Selman, *1 Chronicles: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 210–63; and Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 392. On the succession to Solomon, see especially Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 219.

In addition to these thematic correspondences, there are a few potential verbal links between the two texts as well:

- Both Chronicles and Luke mention “terror and fear” (πτοέω and φοβέω/ἔμφοβος). In Chronicles, Solomon is exhorted to be neither afraid nor terrified (μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ πτοηθῇς; 1 Chr 28:20). In Luke, the disciples, prior to being reassured, are described as being terrified and afraid (πτοηθέντες δὲ καὶ ἔμφοβοι; Luke 24:37). In the NT, only Luke uses the word πτοέω (Luke 21:9; 24:37).¹⁵
- Both mention the Davidic king “blessing”: David blesses the LORD (εὐλογέω) and commands the people to do the same (1 Chr 29:10, 20). Jesus blesses the disciples (εὐλογέω; Luke 24:50, 51). In both, the people respond by blessing God (1 Chr 29:20; Luke 24:53).
- Both mention bowing before the Davidic king (προσκυνέω; 1 Chr 29:20; Luke 24:52 [cf. Matt 28:9, 17]).
- Both include the people’s response of joy (μετὰ χαρᾶς 1 Chr 29:22; μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης Luke 24:52 [cf. Matt 28:8]).¹⁶

Table 7.1 shows the textual comparison between the relevant verses of 1 Chronicles and Luke 24. The common words have similar emphasis.

TABLE 7.1 Textual comparison: 1 Chr 29 and Luke 24

1 Chron 29:10, 20, 22	Luke 24:50–53
10 καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας λέγων εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος	50 Ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν, καὶ ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.
...	51 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς διέστη ἅπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.
20 καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ πάση τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐλογήσατε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ εὐλόγησεν πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν καὶ κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνησαν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ	52 Καὶ αὐτοὶ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης
...	53 καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντός ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν.
22 καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον ἐναντίον κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ χαρᾶς ^a	

a There are no significant textual issues in the LXX text printed.

15 A few MSS, including P⁷⁵, B, and 1241, have θροηθέντες in Luke 24:37, while others (8, W) have φοβηθέντες. Whereas θροέω is not otherwise used by Luke and πτοέω is used elsewhere (Luke 21:9), the first variant is less likely than πτοέω. The second is not well attested. πτοέω occurs thirty-seven times in the LXX, five times in Chronicles.

16 Matthew also has bowing (προσκυνέω) before Jesus (Matt 28:9, 17) and joy (χαρά; Matt 28:8), and thus these features are not unique to Luke. Nevertheless, only in 1 Chronicles and

The endings of 1 Chronicles and Luke exhibit strong thematic correspondence with several verbal parallels. Taken together these verbal and thematic parallels suggest Luke's dependence on the narrative in Chronicles for crafting the ending of his Gospel. Moreover, some of these features are "distinctive traits" that are uniquely shared by the two sources.¹⁷

2.2.1 The Ending of 2 Samuel

The far more negative ending of 2 Samuel concerning David's disastrous census (2 Sam 24:1–25) may also have a resonance with Luke's narrative. If it is true that David's motivation for the census is preparation for future military action, then the incident in 2 Samuel would stand in an inverted relation to what is recorded in Luke-Acts.¹⁸ For, whereas 2 Sam 24 shows an abortive and sinful attempt at the expansion of God's kingdom, the ending of Luke shows Christ and his disciples awaiting the inauguration of the same on God's terms. In any case, the same note of expectation (of the coming temple; 2 Sam 24:18–25; cf. 2 Chr 3:1) is present at the end of both 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles.¹⁹

2.3 *Synthesis: The Ending of SKNA 1 and the Gospel of Luke*

The thematic and verbal correspondences between the ending of SKNA 1 (especially 1 Chronicles) and the ending of Luke are presented in Table 7.2.

2.4 *The Ending of Luke: Conclusion*

In light of the thematic and verbal parallels presented above, a reasonable case can be made that Luke has been influenced by the ending of 1 Chronicles at the end of his Gospel. Just as David in 1 Chronicles sets things in order for smooth succession, kingdom administration, and temple-building, so Jesus at the end of Luke prepares his authorized agents for similar activities. Both include final addresses and the departure of the king. Moreover, the response and location of the people are also the same: we see obedience, worship, and praise, centered on Jerusalem and the temple. This is not to overstate the similarities; the echo of the SKNA here is fainter than at other points. Perhaps here, more than elsewhere, Luke was constrained by traditional material (e.g., the empty tomb and resurrection appearances). Nevertheless, a parallel with 1 Chronicles is still likely, as indicated especially by some verbal links.

Luke do we observe the same sequence of blessing—bowing—joy (1 Chr 29:20–22; cf. Luke 24:50–52).

17 See ch. 1 on "distinctive traits."

18 See P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel*, AB 9 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 514.

19 Cf. Thiering, "Opening and Closing Narratives," 53.

TABLE 7.2 The ending of SKNA 1 and the Gospel of Luke

Element	SKNA 1	Luke
Basic Content	Preparation for succession, including David's addresses and prayers, as well as instructions for kingdom administration and temple-building	Empty tomb and resurrection appearances; preparation of disciples for kingdom administration and end-time temple (cf. Acts 2)
Overall tone	Positive and anticipatory	Surprising nature of resurrection and appearances; anticipatory
Location	Jerusalem	Jerusalem
Actions of Davidic King	Addresses, instruction, prayers, eating with subject; king departs (dies)	Addresses, instruction, blessing people, eating with disciples; king departs (ascends)
Response of people	Joyful obedience; blessing God	Joyful obedience; blessing God
Relationship to temple	Focus is on preparation for the temple	Concludes in temple; preparing for end-time temple
Verbal links	πτοέω & φοβέω εὐλογέω προσκυνέω χαρά ἐσθίω	πτοέω & ἔμφοβος εὐλογέω προσκυνέω χαρά ἐσθίω

3 The Beginning of Acts: The New Temple

While influence from the SKNA seems certain for the beginning of Luke, and plausible for the ending, at first glance when we turn to Acts it might appear that the stream has run dry. The main event at the beginning of Acts is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, while the beginning of SKNA 2 chiefly concerns the construction and dedication of Solomon's temple.²⁰ What does Pentecost have to do with the temple? If an argument that has been made connecting Pentecost to the inauguration of the end-time temple is correct, the answer is, Everything.

20 This is especially true of 2 Chronicles. See Braun, *1 Chronicles*, xxx; and Selman, *2 Chronicles*, 286. Even in 1 Kings, however, the main focus is on the temple as the high point of Israel's history. See Lissa M. Wray Beal, *1 and 2 Kings*, ApOTC 9 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 125, 132, 140–41.

3.1 *The Descent of the Eschatological Temple at Pentecost*

G. K. Beale, in his monograph *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, a pair of journal articles, and his *New Testament Biblical Theology*, has argued in great detail that Pentecost is presented in Acts as the descent and earthly inauguration of the end-time temple.²¹ That is, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is understood to be a theophanic extension of God's holy temple-presence from heaven to earth, thus commencing the presence of the end-time temple on earth. Beale's argument can be summarized by the following points, which I will evaluate and supplement below.

1. Acts 2 contains explicit theophany language, including tongues of fire (γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός; Acts 2:3) and a sound from heaven as of a blowing, mighty wind (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας; Acts 2:2). This theophany language is linked to various OT theophanies, including especially the events at Sinai described in the Book of Exodus.
2. Much of this OT theophany language involves the idea of a heavenly temple, including the idea of a temple presence coming (or descending) to earth in an eschatological context.

Beale argues that since Luke's theophany language recalls OT theophanies, and many of these carry with them the idea of a heavenly temple (including its coming or descending to earth), Luke, by invoking theophany language in Acts 2, likely indicates that Pentecost is "the irrupting from heaven into earth of a newly emerging temple."²² This represents the main thrust of the argument, supported by the clearest lexical evidence. Beale presents some additional evidence as well:

3. Luke inserts the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, likely taken from Isa 2:2, into the prophecy of Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX) cited in Acts 2:17–21. This insertion, along with the wider context of the original Joel citation, points toward the idea of an eschatological temple in Acts 2.²³

21 Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 201–44; Beale, "The Descent of the Eschatological Temple in the Form of the Spirit at Pentecost. Part 1: The Clearest Evidence," *TynBul* 56, no. 1 (2005): 73–102; Beale, "The Descent of the Eschatological Temple in the Form of the Spirit at Pentecost. Part 2: Corroborating Evidence," *TynBul* 56, no. 2 (2005): 63–90; Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 592–613.

22 Beale, *New Testament Biblical Theology*, 597.

23 Isaiah 2:2 is the only place in the LXX where the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις occurs. This is a prophecy of an end-time temple. In addition, the prophecy of Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX) states that ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἶμα (Joel 2:31 [3:4 LXX]; cf. Acts 2:20), which in turn echoes Joel 2:10 and 3:15 (4:15 LXX): ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη συσκοτάσουσιν. In Joel 3:15, however, the sun and moon being darkened occur in connection with the LORD roaring from Zion, and dwelling on Zion/his holy mountain (3:16–17). This

4. Various other OT allusions point to a temple context in Acts 2. In particular, the theophany language in Acts bears a noticeable resemblance to that found in various OT temple-commissioning scenes, including Exod 40:34–38, and—crucially for our purposes—two parallel passages in the SKNA: 1 Kgs 8:6–13 and 2 Chr 7:1–3.²⁴

3.1.1 Evaluation

Since this argument, if correct, is vital to the present thesis, it must be considered carefully. The numbers that follow correspond to the numbers used above.

1. The presence of theophany language in Acts 2 seems obvious and uncontroversial, thus linking Acts 2 to OT theophanies in general.²⁵ Going further, however, in light of specific verbal parallels between Acts and the theophanies in Exodus, as well as some Second Temple Jewish texts interacting with them, it seems that Luke specifically relates the theophany in Acts 2 to *Sinai* as the prototypical OT theophany.²⁶

implies that the Joel 2 prophecy cited in Acts 2 occurs in a wider context of eschatological temple activity. Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1,” 94, 97–99.

24. As pointed out below, 2 Chr 5:7–6:2 is an additional temple-commissioning text not mentioned by Beale. Still other factors contribute toward a cumulative case. See Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 2,” 64–65; and Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 203.
25. See especially the presence of “fire,” “wind,” or “sound”/“voice” language in such texts as Exod 3:2; 19:16–20; 20:22; 24:15–18; 40:34–38; Deut 4:24, 36; 2 Sam 22:8–15 // Ps 18:7–13 (17:8–14 LXX); 1 Kgs 8:10–13 // 2 Chr 5:13d–6:2; 2 Chr 7:1–3 (cf. 2 Macc 2:9–10); Ps 68:1–8 (67:1–8 LXX); Isa 5:24–25; 30:27–30; 66:15–16; Ezek 1:4; Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX); 3:14–17 (4:14–17 LXX); Mic 1:2–4; Mal 3:1. See also 1 En. 14:8–25; Jub. 1:3; LAE 25:3; 4 Ezra 3:19 (cf. 4 Ezra 13:27); Heb 12:18. For these and other relevant texts, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:783, 785–87, 799–804; and Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1,” 76–78, 87–89.
26. On Sinai as the prototypical OT theophany, see especially Jeffrey J. Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995). Specific allusions to Sinai in Acts 2 possibly include ὄμοῦ (Acts 2:1; cf. ὁμοθυμαδὸν Exod 19:8), ἦχος (Acts 2:2) and φωνή (Acts 2:6; cf. φωνή τῆς σάλπγγος ἧξει Exod 19:16), ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Acts 2:2; cf. ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Exod 20:22), and ὡσεὶ πυρός (Acts 2:3; cf. ὡσεὶ πῦρ Exod 24:17). Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 234; Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1,” 77. The phrase γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός (Acts 2:3) occurs in two OT theophany contexts that interact with Exodus: Isa 30:27 (cf. Theodotion: ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἐσθίων), and Isa 5:24–25 (cf. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion: ὡς ἐσθίει καλάμην γλῶσσα πυρός). For these allusions and others, including the likely connection between Sinai and Pentecost in the first century, see *ibid.*, 76–87; Max Turner, *Power from On High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 279–89; and Keener, *Acts*, 785, 801–2. In addition to Second Temple

2. But does theophany necessarily mean *temple*? Not all OT theophanies involve the idea of a heavenly temple (e.g. Gen 18:1–33). However, we note in the first place that if the connection between Pentecost and Sinai is correct, there is ample evidence that Sinai is portrayed as a temple.²⁷ Many other OT theophanies are also associated with the idea of a temple.²⁸ Moreover, the phrase “tongues of fire” in Acts 2:3 suggests a heavenly temple.²⁹ Thus, the Acts 2 theophany likely implies the idea of a temple. What is more, several pertinent texts involve the idea of God’s temple-presence coming to earth. These include Isa 30:27–30, Isa 66:15–21, and (most importantly) Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX; cf. 3:15–17 [4:15–17 LXX]).³⁰ All of this evidence, taken together, means that if theophanic language is acknowledged in Acts 2, the idea of a descending temple presence should be recognized along with it.
3. If the idea of an irrupting temple is not clear from the previous references, the insertion of Isa 2:2 into Luke’s citation of Joel 2 should leave little doubt.³¹ The reference to Isa 2:2 is all but certain, and the context of Isa 2 is unambiguously that of an end-time mountain temple. Thus, Luke

Jewish texts mentioned in the previous footnote, see also Sir 46:17; LAB 11:4–5; 23:10; 32:7; Josephus, *Ant.* 3:80; 11:5; Philo, *Decal.* 33–48; *Spec. Laws* 2:189. For interaction with some scholars who deny the Acts 2/Sinai connection, see Turner, *Power from On High*, 280–85.

- 27 Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1,” 82–83, 100–2. For this understanding in Second Temple Judaism, see especially 2 Macc 2:9–10; Jub. 8:19.
- 28 In addition to those mentioned elsewhere in this section, see also Isa 6:1–13 and Ezek 43:1–8.
- 29 This can be seen not only from the language in Isa 30:27–30 and 5:24–25, but also from two Second Temple Jewish texts. In 1 En. 14:8–25 the phrase γλώσσας πυρός occurs in connection with a vision of a heavenly temple (1 En. 14:9, 15), while in 1Q29 13 the Urim and Thummim are said to shine with “tongues of fire” (לשונות אש). Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1,” 87–91.
- 30 In Isa 30:27–30 the name of Yahweh “comes from afar,” along with the “descent” or “rest” of his arm (נחת; cf. נוח; cf. Gr. θυμός “wrath” in the LXX). Isaiah 66:15–21 describes Yahweh “coming” in fire to judge the earth, immediately followed by the establishment of a pure priesthood and an influx of people to the “holy mountain, Jerusalem” (Isa 66:20). Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX) describes eschatological deliverance on the Day of the LORD (after the outpouring of the Spirit). In the wider context this involves Yahweh dwelling on “Zion, my holy mountain” (3:17 [4:17 LXX]). Yahweh’s coming to earth is implied. Interestingly, in Joel 3:14 the LXX translates the Hebrew הָמוֹן (“multitudes” in the English versions) as “voices” (ῥῆγοι), the same word used in Acts 2:2 (ῥῆχος). See discussion of these texts in *ibid.*, 84–87, 97–99.
- 31 Although the mss B, C, 076, and one Sahidic witness of Acts 2:17 have μετὰ ταῦτα (as in Joel 2:28) instead of ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, this is unlikely to be original.

likely included the phrase in order to connect what Joel had prophesied concerning the outpoured Holy Spirit to an irrupting end-time temple.³² Before considering the additional allusions in point (4), I pause to summarize the argument up to this point: by carefully analyzing the language used in Acts 2, we have concluded that Luke portrays the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as the descent of the heavenly temple. We have not, however, connected this to the SKNA in any direct way. This is where some of Beale's other allusions come into play.

4. Beale mentions allusions to three temple-commissioning scenes: Exod 40:34–38, 1 Kgs 8:6–13, and 2 Chr 7:1–3. We should also include 2 Chr 5:7–6:2, for in fact this is the exact parallel with 1 Kgs 8:6–13, while 2 Chr 7:1–3, though similar, has no exact parallel in 1 Kings.³³ All four of these texts describe the climax of a temple dedication narrative. Three of them (Exod 40:34–38 and 1 Kgs 8:6–13 // 2 Chr 5:7–6:2) involve a cloud filling or covering the temple (or tent of meeting), the glory of the LORD filling the same spaces, and the inability of Moses or the priests to enter or to minister because of it. Second Chronicles 7:1–3, which occurs after Solomon's address and prayer of dedication, adds some detail not present in the other accounts: fire comes down from heaven (καὶ τὸ πῦρ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; cf. Acts 2:2–3), consuming the sacrifices. The children of Israel respond in worship and praise, and, as in 1 Kgs 8:10 // 2 Chr 5:13, the glory of Yahweh fills the "house" (οἶκος).

While the many links between these temple-commissioning scenes and Acts 2 are perhaps already apparent, out of a desire to be clear they are summarized here:

1. In both Acts and the OT commissioning scenes something "fills" the house: a sound like a mighty wind bearing tongues of fire in Acts 2:2–3, and a cloud/glory, associated with fire, in the OT texts.³⁴
2. The language in Acts 2:2–3 (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; πῦρ) is similar on the verbal and thematic level to 2 Chr 7:1 (καὶ τὸ πῦρ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).

32 Beale, "Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 1," 93–94. For discussion of this insertion, see Keener, *Acts*, 1:874–81.

33 The difference is that 1 Kgs 8:6–13 and 2 Chr 5:7–6:2 occur *before* Solomon's address and prayer, while 2 Chr 7:1–3 occurs *after*. Also, some Greek MSS, including LXX^B, place the contents of 1 Kgs 8:12–13 after 8:53 in modified form. On the many connections between the temple commissioning in 1 Kings and Sinai, see especially Wray Beal, *1 and 2 Kings*, 125–28. See also 2 Macc 2:9–10.

34 Glory fills the tabernacle/temple in Exod 40:34–35 and 2 Chr 7:1–3. A cloud fills the temple in 1 Kgs 8:10 // 2 Chr 5:13. The Greek word for "fill" used in these texts is mainly πίμπλημι (ἐμπίπλημι in 2 Chr 5:13). Luke uses πληρώω for the noise like a wind in Acts 2:2 and πίμπλημι for the Spirit in 2:4.

3. Luke's use of οἶκος (Acts 2:2), though not itself a reference to the temple, may be influenced by the "house" language in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles as a means of subtly suggesting the idea of a temple (1 Kgs 8:6, 10, 11; 2 Chr 5:7, 13, 14; 6:2; 7:1–3).³⁵
4. In both Acts and the OT scenes, the theophanic temple-presence is preceded by a time of preparation, including personal consecration.³⁶ This point and the following have not been emphasized in previous discussions of Acts 2 as a temple-commissioning scene.
5. In both Acts 2 and 2 Chr 7 the theophanic activity is followed by a response of praise to God (Acts 2:11; 2 Chr 7:3). Moreover, in both Acts and the OT accounts the result of the theophany is that God is now present with his people in a new way.

In addition to this evidence from Acts 2, Jesus, in Acts 4:11, is called "the chief cornerstone" (εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας; see Ps 118:22), and thus he is identified with a new temple.³⁷

3.1.2 Summary, Implications, and Objections

In light of these many verbal and thematic similarities, there are good reasons to see a parallel between the OT temple-commissioning scenes—especially those from the SKNA—and Acts 2. It is not that Luke unambiguously cites Kings or Chronicles. Rather, while there are some likely verbal allusions (πίμπλημι, πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἶκος), the overall effect is more along the lines of what C. Kavin Rowe calls "atmospheric resonance"—that is, a subtle evocation that is "everywhere present," but "nowhere mentioned."³⁸

Luke's evocation of these OT temple-commissioning scenes has a profound implication for this thesis. For it is clear that the building and dedication of the temple is the main focus at the beginning of SKNA 2, especially 2 Chronicles (2 Chr 2:1–7:22; cf. 1 Kgs 5:1–8:66). In the same way, so surely is the Day of Pentecost for the beginning of Acts—part 2 of Luke's work.³⁹ This means that here, as at the beginning and ending of Luke, Luke not only evokes the SKNA

35 Keener, *Acts*, 1:799.

36 Exod 19:10–15, 22–25; 40:12–15, 30–31; 2 Chr 4:6; 5:11; cf. Luke 24:52–53; Acts 1:14.

37 Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 216.

38 Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology*, 33–34.

39 On the building and dedication of the temple as the main event at the beginning of 2 Chronicles and 1 Kings, see Braun, *1 Chronicles*, xxx; Selman, *2 Chronicles*, 286; Wray Beal, *1 and 2 Kings*, 125, 132, 140–41. Even though the temple is the focus, this is preceded, in both 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles, by other material (1 Kgs 1:1–4:34 // 2 Chr 1:1–17). The same thing is observed in Acts (Acts 1:1–26). Moreover, in the case of Kings, this preceding material concerns proper royal succession (1 Kgs 1:1–53). The same may be observed in Acts, with the selection of Matthias (Acts 1:15–26). Additionally, Jesus is present at the end of Luke

in general, but he evokes the *corresponding portion* of the OT narrative. The cumulative force of these parallels seems unlikely to be the result of a coincidence. Instead, we should see them as an example of structural mimesis: Luke has imitated the SKNA in terms of its literary structure.

As for the theological implications of this echo of the SKNA, if Luke presents Pentecost as the irrupting of a heavenly temple, he likely intends thereby to portray the risen Jesus as the focal point of God's newly inaugurated temple-presence on earth (cf. Acts 4:11), now present in a new way through the Spirit. This involves a complex of related ideas, including the people of God as a temple, the spreading of God's temple-presence throughout the earth, and new creation.⁴⁰

One potential objection to acknowledging this parallel is the ongoing activity of the disciples in the temple in Acts.⁴¹ One might expect, if the community is the true temple, that they would have nothing to do with the old, outmoded, idolatrous one once the new one appears. Things are not necessarily so straightforward, however. To understand this, we need only consider the attitude of the Qumran community toward the Jerusalem temple. Although we saw, in chapter 2, that the Qumran covenanters saw themselves as the true temple in a mode analogous to what I am arguing for Acts, nevertheless the Qumran documents in places evince a positive attitude toward, and even involvement with, the physical Jerusalem temple.⁴² Although it is difficult to reconcile these two attitudes which seem, from our vantage point, to be utterly at odds, yet somehow that community did so. The point is not to figure out precisely *how* they did it, but simply to note *that* they did it: if the Qumran covenanters could find a way to view themselves as the true temple while simultaneously being involved with (or at least not entirely opposed to) the physical temple in Jerusalem, then so could the believers in Acts. This means that the ongoing

and only briefly at the beginning of Acts, just as David is in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings. See Thiering, "Opening and Closing Narratives," 53.

40 On the people of God as a temple, see Isa 4:2–6; Jer 3:16–17; Zech 1:16–2:13. On the spreading of God's temple-presence, see Isa 2:2–4; 25:6–12; 63:15; 64:1–2; 66:1–2; Ezek 40–46. On the importance of the heavenly temple as an ongoing impetus to mission in Acts, see Nicholas J. Moore, "He Saw Heaven Opened: Heavenly Temple and Universal Mission in Luke-Acts," *NTS* 68, no. 1 (January 2022): 38–51. On new creation, see especially Isa 66:22–23. On some of these themes in the Second Temple Jewish literature, see ch. 2. See also Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 216–44. This theme of God's expanding end-time temple presence through Christ, his Spirit, and his people, is likely indicated subtly in Stephen's speech as well. *Ibid.*, 216–32.

41 See, e.g., Acts 2:46; 3:1–26; 5:20–21, 42; 21:23–30; 22:17–21; 24:12, 18; 25:8.

42 E.g., CD V, 5–11; XI, 17–21. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 13:311–313; *J.W.* 1.78–80. See Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as a Temple," 286–87.

involvement of Christ-followers in the physical temple throughout Acts in no way invalidates the thesis concerning the irrupting end-time temple. The community can be the true temple; they can still be involved with the physical temple, at least for a season. This objection must be set aside.⁴³

Another potential objection is that it is simply too subtle.⁴⁴ If Luke intends Pentecost to be seen as the descent of the end-time temple, why does he not say so more clearly? On one level, of course, this is unanswerable. But the question forces us once again to stand at that watershed of interpretation that presents itself so often throughout the study of Luke-Acts. Just as at the beginning of Luke in chapter 4, and at the end of Luke earlier in this chapter, so here again we are confronted by evidence that is tantalizingly subtle. While we could, on those grounds, reject the parallels, it seems, conversely, that if we are prepared to accept one (e.g., at the beginning of Luke), we should also be prepared to accept the others as well, on substantially similar terms. If we will have Lukan subtlety, these parallels are plausible.⁴⁵

3.2 *Acts 2 and the skNA: Additional Consideration*

There is one further element to cement the link to the skNA in Acts 2: the strong influence of the Davidic covenant throughout Peter's speech in Acts 2:25–36.⁴⁶ Although Peter begins his speech by citing Joel and the promise of the Spirit, he quickly shifts the focus to David and his significance for the events unfolding in Jerusalem that day. This not only includes support of the resurrection and ascension from clear citations of Pss 16 and 110 (17 and 109 LXX), but also references to the Davidic covenant as expressed in 2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17, Ps 89, Ps 132 (88 and 131 LXX), and 2 Chr 6.

This requires further elaboration. First, the language of “exaltation” in Acts 2:33 (ὑψώω) has its likely source in Davidic covenant texts, including Ps 89:19, 24

43 As for how the two conflicting views could be reconciled, the most obvious suggestion is that the physical temple was seen as *fading away* or receding in importance. This much, at least, seems implied by Stephen's speech. See Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 222–28.

44 Beale recognizes this. See e.g. Beale, *New Testament Biblical Theology*, 593–94, 606–8; and Beale, “Descent of the Eschatological Temple, pt. 2,” 83–85.

45 This does not mean that anything goes. For this reason, I have taken pains in ch. 1 to emphasize the overall Bayesian shape of the argument, establishing important prior probabilities in chs. 2 and 3. It is this feature (especially the background probability engendered by the Second Temple Jewish use of the skNA I demonstrated in ch. 2) that, in my view, renders the current thesis likely, whereas some other similar ones are not.

46 See especially Robert F. O'Toole, SJ, “Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost,” *JBL* 102, no. 2 (1983): 245–58.

(88:20, 25 LXX) and 1 Chr 17:16–17.⁴⁷ Second, the language of “promise” (ἐπαγγελία; Acts 2:33, 39), although referring in the immediate context to the out-poured Holy Spirit, also relates to the complex of promises made to God’s people, especially those made to David in 2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17.⁴⁸ Third, and most crucially, Acts 2:30 contains a clear reference to the Davidic covenant, specifically, the promise to place a descendant on David’s throne (2 Sam 7:12–16 // 1 Chr 17:11–14). While the closest verbal links in Acts 2:30 are to Ps 132:11–12 (131:11–12 LXX), there is also likely influence from Ps 89:3–4 (88:4–5 LXX), 2 Sam 7:12 // 1 Chr 17:11, and 2 Chr 6:9–10.⁴⁹ Second Chronicles 6:9–10, of course, puts us right back into the temple-commissioning context seen earlier in the chapter, with a specific connection to the SKNA. Thus, here later in Acts 2 we see further evidence that the SKNA forms the conceptual background for Pentecost, including an additional connection to the temple-commissioning material at the beginning of SKNA 2.

3.3 *Synthesis: The Beginning of SKNA 2 and Acts*

Table 7.3 expresses the correspondences between the beginning of SKNA 2 and the beginning of Acts.

TABLE 7.3 The beginning of SKNA 2 and the beginning of Acts

Element	SKNA 2	Acts
Main Focus at beginning of narrative	Preparation, building, and dedication of the Jerusalem temple	The outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, presented as the inauguration of the end-time temple
Location	Jerusalem	Jerusalem
Response of people	Praise of God (2 Chr 7:3)	Praise of God (Acts 2:11)
Verbal links	ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πῦρ πῖμπλημι οἶκος δοσφύς (2 Chr 6:9)	ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πῦρ πῖμπλημι οἶκος δοσφύς (Acts 3:20)

47 Ibid., 248–50.

48 See especially Acts 13:22–23, 32–37. Ibid., 251–54; Keener, *Acts*, 1:987.

49 Marshall, “Acts,” 539–40. Luke’s choice of δοσφύς is likely influenced by 2 Chr 6:9.

3.4 *The Beginning of Acts: Conclusion*

The main event at the beginning of SKNA 2—especially 2 Chronicles—is the building and dedication of the temple. The main event at the beginning of Acts—part 2 of Luke’s narrative—is the descent and inauguration of the true, end-time temple. Thus here, as at the beginning and ending of Luke’s Gospel, we have a close match with the SKNA. In concert with the other evidence presented, this should be accepted as evidence that Luke has consciously modeled his narrative on Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

4 The Ending of Acts: A King at the End of the Earth

Last but not least, we consider the ending of Luke-Acts. By all accounts the ending of Acts is a surprising fact that cries out for explanation. After narrating the arrest and trials of Paul in such detail, Luke seems to leave his readers hanging once he is safely in Rome, with key questions about his fate left unanswered. In this section I will argue that at least part of the answer to these questions lies in Luke’s echo of the ending of the SKNA. I consider this final parallel to be one of the most important in the study.

4.1 *Theories on the Ending of Acts*

The ending of Acts (Acts 28:16–31; especially vv. 30–31) is surprising, ambiguous, and open.⁵⁰ While we should be cautious in assuming too much about what Luke’s readers would have expected, nevertheless the lack of some kind of clear legal resolution to Paul’s case seems surprising.⁵¹ Besides this lack of a clear outcome concerning Paul’s legal troubles, we are also surprised to read that Paul, though a prisoner of Rome, nevertheless enjoys a degree of liberty and favor with his captors.⁵² Not only is this detail surprising, but it lends an air

50 Good summaries of the options for explaining Acts’ ending include Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 7–36; Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 383–87; Heike Omerzu, “Das Schweigen des Lukas: Überlungen zum offenen Ende der Apostelgeschichte,” in *Das Ende des Paulus: Historische, theologische und literaturgeschichtliche Aspekte*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Horn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 128–44; Adams, *Collected Biography*, 229–33; and Keener, *Acts*, 4:3758–60.

51 See especially Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the ‘Acts of the Apostles’*, SNTSMS 121 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 205, 219–21. On the need for caution regarding expectations, see Keener, *Acts*, 4:3715.

52 Paul is allowed to stay by himself in rented quarters (Acts 28:16, 30), where he entertains guests (Acts 28:23). On “Paul’s lenient treatment,” see Keener, *Acts*, 4:3726–27, 3765. Cf. Acts 24:23.

of ambiguity to the scene as well: Paul is captive, yet free; bound with a chain (Acts 28:20), yet ministering unhindered (ἀκωλύτως; 28:31). In addition to being surprising and indeterminate, Acts' ending is open as well. Long ago, John Chrysostom observed that "[Luke] brings his narrative to this point, and leaves the hearer thirsty so that he fills up the lack by himself through reflection."⁵³ That is, Luke deliberately leaves things somewhat unconcluded, "suspended in time," inviting the reader to reflect not merely on what happened, but perhaps also on what it means for them as they encounter the story.⁵⁴ Again, the question is, Why?

While theories abound as to why Acts ends the way it does, we can start with a basic division between those that postulate that the extant ending to Acts is the one Luke intended for his work as a whole, and those that argue it is not.⁵⁵ To the latter category ("unintended") belongs the theory that Luke originally planned a third volume, as well as the idea that the original ending was lost.⁵⁶ Looking to the former category, we can further subdivide the "intended" theories into those that propose that Luke *could not* have written more, and those that argue he *could have, but chose not to*. The "could-not" theory usually means that Luke was writing Acts during the two years' imprisonment (Acts 28:30), and thus he simply did not know how the case ended.⁵⁷ The "could-have-but-chose-not-to" theories are many, whether based on Luke's supposed political, apologetic, rhetorical, or literary aims.⁵⁸ We will examine some of these below. But whether or not Luke knew Paul's fate when he was writing Acts, we are on the safest historical, literary, and exegetical ground in

53 *Hom. Act. 15*; quoted in Adams, *Collected Biography*, 231. On the open ending of Acts, see Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 151–78, 183, 185–88; Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 210–16; and Keener, *Acts*, 4:3760–61. Open or indeterminate endings were known (though sometimes criticized) in ancient historiography. See Marincola, "Concluding Narratives," 302–6, 316. While some historians ended their works in their own voice, others, as Luke does, ended with a summary of some kind. *Ibid.*, 315.

54 Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 229. For another view on the purpose of Acts' open ending, see Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 169–78, 182, 187–88.

55 Sean Adams observes this distinction as well. Adams, *Collected Biography*, 229–33. For a different schematization, see Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 7–36.

56 For reviews and critiques of these positions, see Omerzu, "Das Schweigen des Lukas," 128–31; and Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 12–14. Another variation is that Luke died before he could write his third volume. *Ibid.*, 12. For various reasons these theories are unlikely.

57 Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 8–9. "Could not" could also mean that Luke used a source that ended at this point. *Ibid.*, 9; Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 321. A variation of this theory is that of Heike Omerzu, who believes that although Luke knows of Paul's death he does not relate it because he has no firm documentary evidence to confirm it. Omerzu, "Das Schweigen des Lukas," 151–56.

58 For a good, concise survey of these, see Adams, *Collected Biography*, 230–31.

concluding that the ending of Acts as we have it is the one that Luke intended to write.⁵⁹ But what was Luke trying to communicate by this open, indeterminate, and surprising ending?

Most scholars believe that Luke subtly communicates something about Paul's fate. For example, Luke may intimate that Paul followed the example of Jesus in dying at Roman hands at the end of the two years' imprisonment.⁶⁰ On this theory, Luke probably does not mention Paul's death because it would undercut the triumphant tone he wishes to project, and in any case the progress of the gospel, not Paul's personal fate, is the point of the book.⁶¹ Arguing for the other side, Craig Keener, among others, argues that Luke's readers would have understood, from hints scattered throughout Acts' narrative, that Paul was to be set free. However, the fact that these same readers knew, at the time of Acts' publication, that he had, in fact, been martyred at some point afterward leads Luke to pen the nebulous ending we encounter.⁶²

Such subliminal pseudo-endings are certainly possible, especially given the subtlety we have been led to expect from Luke up to this point. But perhaps the subtlety lies in a different direction: not in what the text does *not* say about Paul, but about what it *does*. In other words, rather than speculate about what the "real" ending of Acts must be, projected out in narrative space someplace in "Acts 29," a far safer course would be to see if the ending given to us *in Acts 28* provides a fitting conclusion to the story that Luke wishes to tell.⁶³

59 This is probably the consensus view today. See, e.g., Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 792; Pervo, *Acts*, 687–90; and Adams, *Collected Biography*, 230. John Marincola points out that conclusions were considered important in ancient historiography, often summing up a work's major themes. Marincola, "Concluding Narratives," 286, 297, 314–15. See also Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 209–16; and Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy*, 182–85.

60 E.g., Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2:413; Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 630; Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 220–21; and Omerzu, "Das Schweigen des Lukas," 156.

61 In my view this fails to satisfy. While it is certainly true that Paul is not Luke's main concern, nevertheless he has been concentrating on his activity for fully half of the Book of Acts, and therefore something more concrete seems necessary in order to bring the story to a fitting conclusion.

62 Keener, *Acts*, 4:3762, 3767. Keener's solution, though ingenious, relies on historical assumptions that might be mistaken (post-70 date for Acts and the knowledge of Paul's death by the readers). Even on these terms, however, it is difficult to see why, if Paul was set free, Luke fails to mention it. Others arguing that Paul's release is indicated are Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 618–20; and Guy Prentiss Waters, "With a Whimper or a Bang? Acts 28 and the Ending of Acts," *RTR* 74, no. 1 (April 2015): 4. For still others, see Keener, *Acts*, 4:3767n533.

63 Waters similarly concludes that "before readers hasten to craft an ending that the author has not provided, they ought to reckon with the ending that the author has provided, on the terms on which the author has provided it." Waters, "With a Whimper or a Bang?," 4. Witherington likewise points out that "it is altogether better and simpler to ask why Luke

Even here, of course, the explanations are manifold, and caution is necessary. But before we can consider a solution, a strong note of corrective is necessary to what was just said concerning the nature of Acts' ending. For, while Acts 28 seems strange in some ways, in other ways it is just right, signaling the fulfillment of trajectories and themes that have been in play since the opening pages of the Gospel.⁶⁴ For example, Acts 28 shows that the geographic plan laid out in Acts 1:8 has been accomplished: the kingdom has been proclaimed to the end of the earth.⁶⁵ The theme of gentile inclusion—in view not merely since Cornelius's conversion in Acts 10, but as far back as Luke's infancy narrative (Luke 2:30–32)—is likewise brought to fulfillment when Paul turns to the gentiles in Acts 28:28.⁶⁶ Moreover, there are remarkable verbal parallels between the end of Acts and its beginning, as well as with the beginning and end of Luke.⁶⁷ Crucially for the comparison with the SKNA, this includes Luke's use of βασιλεία, which functions as an *inclusio* for the entire Book of Acts.⁶⁸ Finally, although Paul's troubles are clearly the result of human evil, they are also presented in no uncertain terms as the outworking of the sovereign plan of God.⁶⁹ In fact, putting these last two points together, while it has been said that the message of Acts is that “nothing can stop the gospel,” strictly speaking

did do something, than why he failed to do something, for there are many possible and plausible explanations for the latter, and there is no adequate historical measuring rod by which to measure such theories.” Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 810n11.

- 64 Commonly noted. See, e.g., Waters, “With a Whimper or a Bang?,” 5–13; Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 145–51; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3715–18, 3758; and Jacques Dupont, “La conclusion des Actes et son rapport à l'ensemble de l'ouvrage de Luc,” in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Jacob Kremer, BETL 48 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 382–404. On the mix of “openness” and “closure” at the end of Acts, see Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 149–51; and Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 145, 185–86.
- 65 While this is disputed by Troftgruben and some others, the position that Rome does not indicate the end of the earth fails to consider the role of Rome in Acts' narrative and theological geography as *representing* the end of the earth, even as it was known that it was not spatially the end of the earth. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 155–57. For discussion of the position taken here, see ch. 6.
- 66 See Charles B. Puskas, Jr., “The Conclusion of Luke-Acts: An Investigation of the Literary Function and Theological Significance of Acts 28:16–31” (PhD diss., Saint Louis University, 1980) 112, 114–15.
- 67 Most comprehensively treated in *ibid.*, 15–18, 71–119. For example, the rare neuter substantive σωτήριον occurs in the NT only in Luke 2:30, 3:6, Acts 28:28, and Eph 6:17. The feminine σωτηρία is far more common (46× in the NT). See also Dupont, “La conclusion des Actes,” 382–402; and Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2:354–55.
- 68 βασιλεία occurs eight times in Acts; four of these are in Acts 1 and Acts 28 (Acts 1:3, 6; 28:23, 31). “Kingdom” as an *inclusio* is widely noted. See, e.g., Keener, *Acts*, 4:3716–17, 3772–73; Pervo, *Acts*, 687; and Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 203, 797.
- 69 See especially Acts 23:11; 24:23–24. Keener, *Acts*, 4:3715, 3555, 3569.

it might be more accurate to phrase it as, “nothing can stop the kingdom of God.”⁷⁰ Thus, it is not enough merely to note the strangeness, or openness, of Acts’ ending. Rather, the most salient feature of the ending of Acts is its distinctive *mixture* of both openness and closure. As Troy Troftgruben correctly observes, the ending of Acts “conveys neither sheer openness nor indisputable closure, but combines nuances of both.”⁷¹

We are now in a position to return to the problem of explaining Acts’ ending. In light of the observations made above, what is needed is a solution that (1) accounts for the unusual features of the ending; (2) confines the explanation, if possible, to the boundaries of Acts’ narrative; and (3) is sufficiently satisfying as it relates to Paul and the themes that Luke has been developing since the beginning. Such a solution has been proposed by others, and is argued for here: Luke deliberately echoes the ending of the SKNA.⁷²

4.2 *The Ending of the SKNA and the Ending of Acts*

When it comes to the scriptural (i.e., OT) message that Luke wishes to leave his readers with, it would seem, from the citation of Isa 6:9–10 in Acts 28:26–27, that Isaiah gets the last word. Or does it? The Book of Acts finally ends, not with a Scripture citation, but with a *narrative* of Paul’s two years of unhindered kingdom activity while in Roman custody (28:30–31). When we compare this ending with the SKNA, we observe an arresting literary parallel which points, once again, toward Luke’s influence from this earlier two-part work.

The parallel, noted by many scholars, is between Paul and Jehoiachin at the end of 2 Kings (2 Kgs 25:27–30).⁷³ Jehoiachin, grandson of Josiah and penultimate king of Judah, is granted favor by Evil-merodach, successor to

70 “Nothing can stop the gospel” is from R. R. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles: ‘Nothing Can Stop the Gospel’* (London: SCM Press, 1953). Quoted in Keener, *Acts*, 4:377n598.

71 Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 185–86.

72 Or, as it is usually presented, the ending of the DH.

73 Scholars who have argued in favor of seeing a Paul/Jehoiachin parallel, and thus an Acts/DH parallel, include: Thiering, “Opening and Closing Narratives,” 54; Trompf, *Historical Recurrence in Western Thought*, 145; Sanders, “Isaiah in Luke,” 147; Philip Davies, “The Ending of Acts,” *ExpTim* 94 (1983): 334–35; Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 809–10; Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 197–98; Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” 182; and Thomas Römer, “Die Anfänge jüdischer Geschichtsschreibung im sogenannten Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk,” in *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie*, eds. Jörg Frey, Clare K. Rothschild and Jens Schröter, BZNW 162 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 74–76. Not all are convinced; Keener, for example, judges the parallel to be “questionable” because of the disparity in importance between Jehoiachin and Paul in their respective narratives. Keener, *Acts*, 4:3759n452. I will address this objection below. There are no textual issues of significance in either the Hebrew or Greek text of Kings for the portions mentioned here. For a discussion of the verses in Kings from the OT perspective, see Wray Beal, *1 and*

Nebuchadnezzar. Despite having been a captive in Babylon for thirty-seven years, for no stated reason Jehoiachin is released from prison and treated kindly for the rest of his days:

Now it came about in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, that Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he became king, released Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison; and he spoke kindly to him and set his throne above the throne of the kings who were with him in Babylon. Jehoiachin changed his prison clothes and had his meals in the king's presence regularly all the days of his life; and for his allowance, a regular allowance was given him by the king, a portion for each day, all the days of his life.

2 Kgs 25:27–30 NASB

The points of comparison between Jehoiachin and Paul are shown in Table 7.4.⁷⁴

As this comparison demonstrates, not only are there many specific points of contact between the two narratives, but furthermore, the ending of 2 Kings, like that of Acts, is surprising, ambiguous, and open.⁷⁵ There are some additional similarities as well. Both Paul and Jehoiachin are solitary, royal figures: *kings in exile*. Furthermore, the location of both closing scenes is equivalent: Babylon and Rome are each the capital of the world superpower of their day, representing the “end of the earth” and standing in an ambivalent relationship to the people of God.⁷⁶

2 Kings, 529–31; and Donald F. Murray, “Of All the Years the Hopes—Or Fears? Jehoiachin in Babylon (2 Kings 25:27–30),” *JBL* 120, no. 2 (2001): 245–65.

74 This chart is my modification of the one found in Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 197.

75 Extensive debate has swirled around whether the ending of 2 Kings is fundamentally pessimistic or optimistic, based on the views of Martin Noth and Gerhard von Rad, respectively. For a summary and analysis of this debate, see Murray, “Of All the Years the Hopes—Or Fears?” Murray’s conclusion is correct, and also relevant for the connection to Acts: the most salient feature of the ending of 2 Kings is its ambivalence. *Ibid.*, 263–65. Troftgruben attempts to downplay the significance of the ending of 2 Kings for the ending of Acts by arguing that it is a “tangent” (a technical term)—that is, not the real ending of 2 Kings. This seems to beg the question concerning the function of 2 Kgs 25:27–30 in its context. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 106–9. I believe the admixture of openness and closure observed at both the ending of 2 Kings and Acts serves as another “distinctive trait” shared between the two narratives. On “distinctive traits,” see ch. 1.

76 For Babylon and Rome as “ends of the earth,” and Rome in Acts as a new Babylon, see ch. 6. The ambivalence of Babylon is seen in the prophetic acknowledgment that Babylon, though wicked and deserving judgment, is also God’s appointed agent of judgment (see, e.g., Isa 13:1–5; Jer 20:4–6; 21:4–10; 27:6–11, 19–22; 38:17–23; Hab 1:5–12). Luke’s portrayal of

TABLE 7.4 Jehoiachin and Paul

Jehoiachin (2 Kings)	Paul (Acts)
Jehoiachin is taken as a prisoner to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:12, 15)	Paul is taken as a prisoner to Rome (Acts 21:31–33; 28:16–20)
Jehoiachin is released from prison while remaining in Babylon (2 Kgs 25:28–29)	Paul does not stay in prison while in Rome (Acts 28:16, 30)
Jehoiachin is treated kindly and has some freedom while remaining in Babylon (2 Kgs 25:28–30)	Paul is treated leniently and has some freedom while remaining in Rome (Acts 28:16, 30)
Economic conditions are mentioned (Jehoiachin is given a daily allowance) (2 Kgs 25:30)	Economic conditions are mentioned (Paul stays in his own rented house) ^a (Acts 28:30)
The ending is surprising in light of the book’s overall negative trajectory	The ending is surprising in light of the focus on Paul’s legal case up to this point
The ending is ambiguous, lacking clear resolution with a mix of positive and negative elements	The ending is ambiguous, lacking clear resolution with a mix of positive and negative elements
Jehoiachin’s final end is not related, leaving the narrative open-ended	Paul’s final end is not related, leaving the narrative open-ended

a This is pointed out by Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 811.

This is not to say that there are explicit verbal links between the two texts. Rather, similar to what we saw above concerning the beginning of Acts, the effect is more subtle; one of “atmospheric resonance.” Nevertheless, the cumulative weight of the resemblances indicates the likely existence of a deliberate parallel. But even more can be said. An important aspect of narrative closure in works of literature both ancient and modern was “circularity”—that is, ending a work in a similar way that it began.⁷⁷ Insofar as Luke, as we saw in

Rome in Acts is perhaps best seen in this ambivalent light as well. Though the Roman Empire is in opposition to the work of the gospel, nevertheless Rome has an important part to play in the spread of the gospel.

77 On circularity, see Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 50, 52. See also Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 16.1.1–2.

chapter 4, clearly echoes the beginning of Samuel-Kings at the beginning of his Gospel, we might, all things being equal, expect him to echo the same work at its ending. While such a strict parallelization is certainly not demanded, nevertheless ancient literary conventions should at least alert us to the possibility. Thus, in light of these considerations, we can conclude, with Römer and several others, that “it is quite possible that Luke, for the ending of his Acts of the Apostles, has oriented himself from the ending of the DH.”⁷⁸

4.2.1 Chronicles

What about Chronicles? The Chronicler, rather than mentioning Jehoiachin's unexpected release, concludes the narrative with a final summary statement concerning Israel's obduracy and its results (2 Chr 36:15–21), followed by the surprising decree of Cyrus to rebuild the temple (2 Chr 36:22–23).⁷⁹ Despite no mention of Jehoiachin, here too there are possible parallels with the ending of Acts. First, as noted in the previous chapter, Cyrus's decree infuses the ending of Chronicles with a sense of fulfillment, along with the suggestion that Yahweh is the God of all nations.⁸⁰ These two themes surely match what we observe at the end of Acts (see Acts 19:21; 23:11; 27:24; 28:28). Second, the final summary of judgment in 2 Chr 36:15–21, especially vv. 15–16, is remarkably similar, on a thematic level, to the use made of Isa 6:9–10 in Acts 28:26–27. In fact, what I. Howard Marshall writes of the Isaiah quotation in Acts could be applied, verbatim, to 2 Chr 36:15–21 in its original context: God “brings incapable judgment upon people who go on too long and too far in rejecting his message to them.”⁸¹ Third, there is a likely verbal parallel between 2 Chronicles and Acts. Second Chronicles, like Acts, is structured in part by an *inclusio* concerning the word “kingdom” (מְלָכֻת/βασιλεία): it begins with David being established ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ (2 Chr 1:1), and ends with an announcement made throughout Cyrus's kingdom (βασιλεία) that πάσας τὰς βασιλείας

78 “Es ist durchaus möglich, dass sich Lukas für das Ende seiner Apostelgeschichte am Ende des DtrG orientiert hat.” Römer, “Die Anfänge jüdischer Geschichtsschreibung,” 76. For a similar conclusion, see Thiering, “Opening and Closing Narratives,” 54; Sanders, “Isaiah in Luke,” 147–48; Davies, “The Ending of Acts,” 335; Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” 182; Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 810; and Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 198.

79 For a discussion of these verses from the OT perspective, see Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 1071–77. On 2 Chr 36:22–23 as the original ending of Chronicles, see Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 145–47. Other than the originality of 2 Chr 36:22–23, there are no significant textual issues that affect this study.

80 See ch. 6, as well as Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 148–53.

81 Marshall, “Acts,” 601. Cf. Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 1071.

τῆς γῆς ἔδωκέν μοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (2 Chr 36:22–23).⁸² Finally, insofar as Cyrus's decree to rebuild the temple signals the continuation of Yahweh's manifest kingship on earth, it would not be going too far to say that the ending of Chronicles ends on the same hopeful note as Acts: *Nothing can stop the Kingdom of Yahweh*.

At this point, it will be important to recall, one final time, that in the Second Temple period Samuel-Kings and Chronicles tended to be read synoptically, which means that if we are considering the potential literary influence of one of these works, we must, at the same time, consider the potential influence of the parallel portion of the other. To fail to do so is not to understand them the way that Luke likely would have. While we can never be sure how, precisely, a given author might have read and interpreted the two works together, at the ending of them both the details are not overly important. In some way, the surprising release of Jehoiachin, the summary concerning Judah's fate, and the decree concerning the temple would have been synthesized into a coherent narrative.⁸³ In light of this, when we view Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together, the overall effect is almost exactly what we observe at the end of Acts. We have a solitary royal figure experiencing a measure of freedom while still held captive, a word of warning to an obdurate nation, and an open yet somehow triumphant ending that signals divine fulfillment and the worldwide kingdom of God. I submit that the best explanation for these distinctive similarities is that Luke deliberately echoes Samuel-Kings and Chronicles *together* at the ending of Acts. The surprising fact of Acts' ending is best explained by direct literary influence from the SKNA.

4.3 *Theological Implications*

While others have noted the parallel between Paul and Jehoiachin, few have offered a cogent explanation for what Luke intended to communicate by it, other than a general sense of narrative closure by ending as he began. Others have rejected the parallel on the basis of the disparity in importance between Paul and Jehoiachin.⁸⁴ I believe this study provides an explanation for the parallel that also answers the objection concerning the two figures' disparate importance. In line with what I argued in a previous chapter, a great part of the answer lies in their shared status as royal figures. That is, Jehoiachin and Paul are both heirs of the Davidic kingdom, and Luke presents them in parallel in

82 Thus, there is a note of irony: David's kingdom is replaced by Cyrus's. Additionally, the kingdom decree is to be "preached" (κηρύσσω; 2 Chr 36:22; cf. Acts 28:31).

83 Note how Josephus, generally following 2 Kings at this point, nevertheless ascribes to Jeremiah a prophecy concerning the rebuilding of the temple. *Ant.* 10.113; cf. Jer 29:10–14; 52:31–34; 2 Chr 36:23.

84 E.g., Keener, *Acts*, 4:3759n452.

order to underscore a vital theological point: though both are kings, they are very different kinds of kings. Jehoiachin, as the last king mentioned in 2 Kings, symbolizes the utter failure of the heirs of David to faithfully administer the kingdom.⁸⁵ Paul, on the other hand, represents the faithfulness of King Jesus's eschatological heirs. Though both are taken prisoner, one shares in the guilt of David's line (2 Kgs 24:9), while the other is innocent of the charges brought against him (Acts 23:29; 25:18–19, 26–27; 26:31–32).⁸⁶ The comparison, I would argue, does not depend upon their relative importance throughout the entirety of their respective narratives, but rather on their contrasted characterization and parallel narrative function at the *end* of the narratives. This means that, despite the contrast between Paul's prominence in Acts and Jehoiachin's relative obscurity in 2 Kings, Jehoiachin nevertheless functions as an appropriate foil for Paul, enabling Luke to present Paul's treatment as the ironic reversal of what occurred at the end of 2 Kings. In other words, what we see at the end of Acts is yet another instance of *eschatological inversion*. In the end-times in which Luke writes, the kings, the heirs of David, are no longer failures. Rather than being judged, they announce judgment—and salvation (Acts 28:25–29). They are faithful to their mission, and faithful to their king.⁸⁷

4.4 *Synthesis: The Ending of skNA 2 and the Ending of Acts*

Table 7.5 summarizes the parallels between the ending of skNA 2 and the ending of Acts. As with one other summary, Kings and Chronicles are treated separately.

4.5 *The Ending of Acts: Conclusion*

Luke ends his two-part work in a perplexing and enigmatic way. The account of Paul would seem to cry out for clear resolution, which many scholars have been more than willing to supply. However, rather than invent a future fate for Paul that Luke's readers "must" have known about, a far safer course for deciphering Luke's literary purpose would be to look for an appropriate sense of narrative closure within the boundaries of Acts. When we do so, we note an intriguing resonance with the ending of the skNA. Both end with a royal figure, alone in a foreign land, in bondage yet free by the pleasure of the state, whose final end

85 Murray rightly points out that Jehoiachin displays no repentance. Murray, "Of All the Years the Hopes—Or Fears?," 264.

86 Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 17; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3550–51, 3555.

87 One additional and crucial theological implication of Luke's choice to deliberately echo the skNA here and elsewhere is that by doing so he signals his intention to write biblical history. This is developed in the concluding chapter.

TABLE 7.5 The ending of SKNA 2 and the ending of Acts

Element	2 Kgs 25	2 Chr 36	Acts
Location	Babylon; center of dominant world empire	Babylon; center of dominant world empire	Rome; center of dominant world empire
Main character	Jehoiachin	Cyrus	Paul
Main character's role and circumstances	Solitary royal figure; failed heir of David's kingdom; captive yet free	Reigning king	Solitary royal figure; faithful heir of David's kingdom; captive yet free
Themes	Fulfillment of divine promise; judgment for rejecting God's purposes	Kingdom (βασιλεία); fulfillment of divine promise; interest in other nations; Yahweh as universal God	Kingdom (βασιλεία); fulfillment of divine promise; interest in other nations; judgment for rejecting God's purposes
Tone	Surprising; ambiguous; open-ended	Surprising; hopeful	Surprising; ambiguous; open-ended; hopeful

we are not told. The location is equivalent: the capital of the dominant world empire, a long way from where the book began in Jerusalem. The themes are equivalent: kingdom, fulfillment, and access to God by all. Moreover, the tone of both is the same: mingled indeterminacy and hope; “neither a final interpretation of the story, nor a clear happy ending.”⁸⁸ I propose that the most likely explanation for this uncanny confluence of features is direct literary influence from the SKNA. While I do not claim that this proposal answers all of the questions concerning the ending of Acts, nevertheless, I believe it goes a long way toward answering at least some of them. Luke, in telling of Paul’s presence at Rome just the way he does, signals to the reader that the story told in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is brought to its end-time consummation. The failure of David’s kingdom is turned upside down in the faithfulness of the greater David’s end-time heirs.

88 Römer and Macchi, “Luke, Disciple of the Deuteronomistic School,” 182.

5 Summary and Conclusion

Luke goes out of his way in his preface to say that he intends to write his history “in order” (καθεξής; Luke 1:3). While we cannot be certain what, precisely, this means, we know that ancient authors paid special attention to the beginnings and endings of their works as major pointers to their purposes. In a previous chapter we saw that Luke echoes the beginning of 1 Samuel at the beginning of his Gospel. In this chapter we saw that he does the same thing at the ending of the Gospel and at the beginning and ending of Acts. Thus, not only does Luke-Acts show evidence for influence from the SKNA in a general or diffuse way through the use of this feature or that allusion, but rather it is woven into the very structure of the entire work. In chapters 1 and 3 we discussed the importance of structural mimesis (including the similar order of events) for discerning large scale imitation of one literary work in another. This I believe has been demonstrated for Luke-Acts. By echoing the SKNA at his work’s crucial beginnings and endings, Luke presents his story as the ultimate fulfillment of the things that took place in Israel’s earlier history. As I shall argue in the conclusion, these remarkable similarities indicate that Luke saw himself in a role analogous to the Chronicler of old: he wrote and represented Israel’s earlier history for his present day.

Conclusion

The last comer is best placed. He finds the words to hand; differently arranged, they take on a new look.

SENECA (THE YOUNGER), *Epistulae morales*¹

• • •

And beginning with Moses and all the Prophets, he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.

LUKE 24:27 (ESV)

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1 Summary

In chapter 1 we reviewed research concerning Luke's use of the OT, concentrating on the use of the OT as a literary template. It was observed that while many proposals have been made for Luke's use of portions of the OT—including Samuel-Kings—as a literary template, to date there has been only one other brief suggestion of such a thoroughgoing use of Samuel-Kings or Chronicles as a literary template in Luke-Acts. Then, a unique methodology was presented that combines elements of narrative criticism with concepts drawn from philosophy and argumentation theory, including Bayes' Theorem and inference to the best explanation. In addition, a key term was introduced: *the Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc* (SKNA), which refers to the integrated plotline contained in the books of Samuel-Kings and 1–2 Chronicles.

In chapters 2 and 3 (and the beginning of chapter 4) we examined several background factors that establish a reasonable Bayesian prior probability for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template. Chapter 2 concentrated on the OT and Second Temple Jewish literature. After making a judgment concerning a likely Greek text of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles that Luke would have had access to and used, we looked at the composition, structure, and themes of

¹ Translation from Russell, *De Imitatione*, 5.

these OT books, noting certain features that bear an immediate resemblance to similar ones in Luke-Acts. We then considered these books in the context of Second Temple Jewish literature. After presenting a taxonomy of compositional uses of Scripture in which to situate Luke-Acts, substantial evidence was presented that reading Samuel-Kings and Chronicles together as a unified narrative was a common practice throughout the Second Temple period. We then noted several works that use portions of these books as a literary template, and also looked at many examples of reading the SKNA as an “arc” that ascends to the reign of David (and Solomon) as a high point, and thereafter descends through successive reigns of failed kings to the low point of exile.

We then looked at Luke’s Greco-Roman milieu in chapter 3. Beginning with the question of the genre of Luke-Acts, we noted that while, from the emic perspective, Luke-Acts is an example of Greco-Roman historiography, from the etic perspective the profound influence of the OT must be taken into account. It was then proposed that the theory of Luke’s reliance on the SKNA as a literary template helps to clear up some long-standing problems concerning the genre of Luke-Acts. We next focused on the Greco-Roman concept of mimesis. A fivefold taxonomy of imitational mimesis was proposed, which includes structural mimesis (the imitation of a literary work in terms of its structure). It was also demonstrated that the use of literary models, including at the level of structure, was practiced in Greco-Roman historiography. As for Luke, after establishing his credentials as a Hellenistic author, we looked at his use of mimesis, applying the fivefold taxonomy to Luke-Acts. Here it was noted that a good case can be made for Luke’s use of several types of mimesis, while further examples—especially of structural mimesis—were proposed to be explored throughout the study. Finally, we noted the tension, in ancient mimesis, between imitating something old and offering something new.

All together, there are six factors that contribute toward the prior probability, or background plausibility, of Luke’s use of the SKNA:

1. SKNA material is common in Second Temple Jewish literature (ch. 2)
2. Several works use portions of Samuel-Kings as a literary template (ch. 2)
3. Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are often interpreted synoptically as a single story (ch. 2)
4. Several works discern a narrative arc in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (ch. 2)
5. Mimesis was a widespread practice in Greco-Roman literature, including structural mimesis (ch. 3)
6. Luke is clearly aware of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, on the basis of clear allusions and echoes (ch. 4)

Having established a sufficiently high background plausibility for Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template, chapters 4–7 contained the exegetical evidence from Luke-Acts that demonstrates the theory's explanatory power. This evidence was presented as a “convergent argument”—that is, an argument that uses various, sometimes disparate lines of evidence which, when evaluated together, render a hypothesis likely. Chapter 4 focused on “fixed points”—influence from the SKNA that can be held with a high degree of confidence. Here, besides establishing Luke's general knowledge of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles on the basis of clear allusions, we considered three prominent themes of Luke-Acts that are similar to ones found in the SKNA: Luke's Davidic Christology, the kingdom of God, and temple. We also considered the works of N. T. Wright and Yuzuru Miura, who each have proposed plot parallels between the Book of Samuel and the Gospel of Luke. These parallels were affirmed and supplemented by considering the additional influence of 1 Chronicles. Finally, we looked at the widely recognized echo of 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke's Gospel, noting that Luke's subtlety here ought to alert us to similarly subtle uses of Scripture—perhaps particularly of the SKNA—at other points throughout his narrative.

Chapter 5 contained a core component of the study: Luke, in ways that are unique among the four Evangelists, characterizes the disciples of Jesus in royal terms. This is related to key Lukan themes and emphases, including the Davidic covenant and table fellowship. Most importantly, the institution narrative (Luke 22:14–30, especially vv. 29–30) indicates that Jesus covenants the Davidic kingdom to the apostles and disciples. This means that they are (in, through, and with Christ) the true heirs of the Davidic kingdom, and thus they are analogous to the kingly descendants of David in the SKNA. We then saw many ways in which Luke indicates this royal identity throughout Luke-Acts.

Chapter 6 focused mainly on structural features of Luke-Acts that indicate influence from the SKNA, including instances of structural mimesis. We looked at Luke's unique sense of theological geography, the sequence of major, royal characters in Acts, and Acts' use of speeches, prayers, and summaries. All of these structural features are used in similar ways in the SKNA, and their presence in Luke-Acts, especially all of them together, indicates Luke's dependence on that earlier narrative as he crafted his own. Finally, we noted several additional elements of Luke's historiography—including the prominent motif of promise and fulfillment—which further indicate influence from the OT in general, and the SKNA in particular.

In chapter 7 we looked at further narrative parallels between the SKNA and Luke-Acts. It was argued that, just as Luke echoes the beginning of the SKNA at

the beginning of his Gospel, so he also subtly echoes the ending of part 1 of the SKNA (especially 1 Chronicles) at the ending of his Gospel. He likewise echoes the beginning and ending of part 2 of the SKNA (that is, Kings and 2 Chronicles) at the beginning and ending of Acts. These coordinated correspondences between the SKNA and Luke-Acts, at the all-important beginning and ending points of Luke's narrative, are among the strongest points of evidence in favor of this thesis. For, taken together, they indicate that Luke's echo of 1 Samuel in Luke 1–2 is not an isolated example of mimesis, but rather it is faithfully carried through to the end of his double work. In light of the importance of beginnings and endings for signaling an author's literary purposes in antiquity, we should acknowledge that these echoes, placed at the crucial beginnings and endings of Luke-Acts, indicate that Luke has based his two-part narrative on the earlier two-part narrative of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

All together, chapters 4–7 contain twelve points of evidence which, as elements of a convergent argument, demonstrate the explanatory power of Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template:

1. Davidic Christology (ch. 4)
2. Kingdom theme (ch. 4)
3. Temple theme (ch. 4)
4. Echo of 1 Samuel at the beginning of Luke's Gospel (ch. 4)
5. Royal characterization of the disciples (ch. 5)
6. Theological geography (ch. 6)
7. Sequence of major characters as a structural feature in Acts (ch. 6)
8. Speeches, prayers, and summaries in Acts (ch. 6)
9. SKNA elements of Luke's historiography (ch. 6)
10. Echo of the ending of SKNA 1 at the ending of Luke's Gospel (ch. 7)
11. Echo of the beginning of SKNA 2 at the beginning of Acts (ch. 7)
12. Echo of the ending of SKNA 2 at the ending of Acts (ch. 7)

The cumulative weight of this evidence, backed by the prior probability established earlier, should lead to the conclusion that Luke has imitated the SKNA in the composition of Luke-Acts, using it as a fundamental literary template. Moreover, the two-part structure of Luke-Acts, matching as it does the two-part structure of the SKNA (especially Chronicles in the LXX), should be viewed as an instance of structural mimesis.

2 The SKNA in Luke-Acts: Collected Parallels

Narrative parallels between SKNA 1 and Luke were presented in chapter 4, while other parallels were suggested between Luke-Acts and the SKNA all throughout the study. These parallels are collected in table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1 Parallels between the SKNA and Luke-Acts

SKNA 1	Gospel of Luke
Samuel (forerunner of David) is born (1 Sam 1–3)	John (forerunner of Jesus) is born (Luke 1)
– Born to an infertile woman (1 Sam 1:2)	– Born to an infertile woman (Luke 1:7)
– Celebration with a triumphant song (1 Sam 2:1–10)	– Celebration with a triumphant song (Luke 1:46–56, 68–79)
– A message of judgment for Israel (1 Sam 3:1–18)	– A message of judgment for Israel (Luke 3:7–9)
– The boy grows and the LORD is with him (1 Sam 2:26; 3:19)	– The boy grows and the LORD is with him (Luke 1:66, 80)
David is anointed (1 Sam 16:13)	Jesus is anointed at his baptism (Luke 3:21–33)
David battles Goliath (1 Sam 17:1–52)	Jesus battles Satan (Luke 4:1–13)
David returns from battle; is both wel- comed and rejected (1 Sam 18:6–9)	Jesus returns from battle; is both welcomed and rejected (Luke 4:4–30)
David's legal authority demonstrated (1 Sam 21:2–10)	Jesus's legal authority demonstrated (Luke 6:1–5)
David as righteous sufferer (1 Sam 21:2–22:2)	Jesus as righteous sufferer (Luke 6:1–19)
David wanders with his followers (1 Sam 19–30)	Jesus travels with his followers (Luke 9:51–19:28)
David is proclaimed king and enters Jerusalem (1 Chr 11:1–8 [cf. 2 Sam 2:1–5:10])	Jesus is proclaimed king and enters Jerusalem (Luke 19:28–40)
David institutes new worship (1 Chr 13:1–24)	Jesus purifies worship (Luke 19:45–48)
David defeats his enemies (1 Chr 14–18)	Jesus defeats Satan (Luke 22:3–24:38)
Davidic covenant instituted (2 Sam 7 // 1 Chr 17)	Davidic covenant granted to the apostles and disciples (Luke 22:14–30)
The king suffers (2 Sam 15–17)	The king suffers (Luke 22:31–23:56)

TABLE 8.1 Parallels between the SKNA and Luke-Acts (*cont.*)

SKNA 1	Gospel of Luke
The king is restored (2 Sam 18–19)	The king rises again (Luke 24:1–12)
David prepares for temple building and kingdom succession (including addresses, praise, departure of king) (1 Chr 22–29)	Jesus prepares for temple building and kingdom succession (including addresses, praise, departure of king) (Luke 24:25–27; 44–49; Acts 1:4–8)
SKNA 2	Book of Acts
Construction and dedication of the temple (1 Kgs 5:1–6:38; 7:13–8:66; 2 Chr 2:1–7:22)	Irruption and inauguration of end-time temple (Acts 2:1–41)
Division of Davidic kingdom into north and south; pivotal role of Samaria (1 Kgs 12:16–14:20; 1 Kgs 16:24; 2 Chr 10:19)	Restoration of Davidic kingdom (reunification of north and south); pivotal role of Samaria (Acts 8:5–25)
Davidic kingdom contracts (2 Kgs 10:32–25:21; 2 Chr 12:1–36:21)	Restored Davidic kingdom expands (Acts 8:4–28:31; see especially Acts 9:31; 12:24; 13:49; 16:5; 19:20)
Narrative is structured by geography, sequence of major characters, and speeches, prayers, and summaries	Narrative is structured by geography, sequence of major characters, and speeches, prayers, and summaries
Solitary king at the end of the earth; enigmatic and open ending (2 Kgs 25:27–30)	Solitary royal figure at the end of the earth; enigmatic and open ending (Acts 28:16–31)

The parallels between SKNA 2 and Acts are intentionally underdeveloped. Although no doubt more could be proposed, I have refrained from doing so, not merely out of a desire to err on the side of caution, but also because at this point I am disinclined to believe that Luke drew close plot-level correspondences between the two works at every turn.² Rather, the sense is that

2 For some additional suggestions for parallels between Acts and Kings, see Thiering, “Opening and Closing Narratives,” 53–54.

he instead offered a few clear parallels at crucial points in his narrative, and then signaled his reliance on the SKNA in other, more subtle ways, such as by structuring the narrative in Acts in ways analogous to the structure of SKNA 2 (especially, the sequence of major characters, and speeches, prayers, and summaries). After all, if Luke used multiple literary models, as I believe he did, then at a certain point it would have become difficult to accommodate all of them simultaneously with any degree of rigor—especially while also wishing to accurately relate historical events. Nevertheless, I believe the parallels presented are sufficient to demonstrate the thesis.

3 The Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc

Throughout this study, I have employed the term *the Samuel-Kings Narrative Arc*. Since the word “arc” is fundamentally a visual term, here I attempt to give visual expression to this concept.

Figure 8.1 represents the narrative arc in the OT. The low point on the lower left represents the beginning of the SKNA (especially 1 Samuel), which is a low point of Israel’s history following the disastrous time of the judges (see, e.g., Judg 21:25). New hope, however, is born with Samuel, and the arc ascends to the high point in the middle, representing the glory of David’s and Solomon’s kingdom.³ The descending arc to the right represents the gradual decline of the Davidic kingdom after Solomon, while the low point on the lower right represents the end of the SKNA, with Jehoiachin in exile.

Figure 8.2 is my attempt to represent the SKNA as it becomes transformed in Luke-Acts. As with the OT version, it begins in the lower left with the birth of a child (John the Baptist; “Samuel come again”), who represents the new hope born out of the low point of Israel’s long exile. The middle of the solid

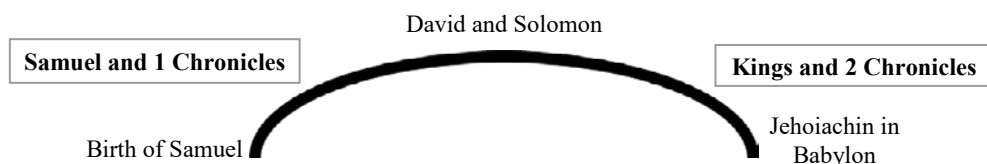


FIGURE 8.1 The Samuel-Kings narrative arc in the OT

3 I acknowledge once again my debt to Edmund Clowney and Graeme Goldsworthy for inspiration regarding discerning an arc in the OT narrative. Goldsworthy includes a pictorial representation alike in certain respects to the one presented here. Clowney, *The Unfolding Mystery*, 165–68; Goldsworthy, *Christ-Centered Biblical Theology*, 26.

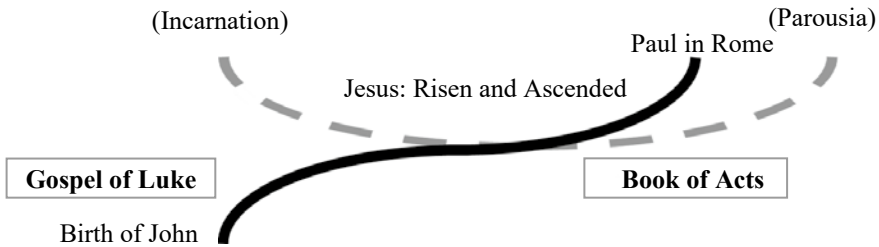


FIGURE 8.2 The Samuel-Kings narrative arc in Luke-Acts

line represents the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, the great Davidic king. The upward arc of the solid line represents the overall progression of Acts, as Christ's transformed end-time kings faithfully proclaim the message of the kingdom according to the Acts 1:8 plan. The upper right hand corner of the solid line represents the ending of Acts, with Paul, an end-time royal figure, standing faithfully for Jesus in Rome. However, in the NT version there are further nuances. The dashed line beginning at the upper left-hand corner and descending to the middle is my attempt to represent the incarnation of Jesus—the ultimate descent—as the Son of God entered humanity's sad exile from the garden of Eden. The dashed line on the right represents the reality that, despite a note of victory and triumph throughout Acts and the NT, followers of Jesus, this side of the King's return, are still in exile: there is both a “now” and a “not yet” component to the victory of the risen Christ. The upper-right-hand corner of the dashed line represents the consummation of human history in the Parousia and the new heavens and earth, when sin, pain, and death will be put away forevermore and the dwelling of God shall once again be with humanity (Rev 19:11–22:21). While all attempts at transsemiotics inevitably distort, it is hoped that these figures can help bring greater clarity to what I have been trying to express throughout these pages. I now offer some hermeneutical and theological implications and some ideas for further study, followed by some concluding remarks.

4 Hermeneutical Implications

1. Concerning biblical hermeneutics generally, I believe this study demonstrates that a Bayesian methodology can be applied profitably to biblical studies. Distinguishing between background plausibility and explanatory power, delineating prior probabilities, and using them to compare similar proposals are all practices that can be used to construct better arguments.

2. Luke's use of the SKNA is evidence for the existence of plotline mimesis in antiquity.
3. Concerning interpretation of Luke-Acts in particular, as pointed out several times throughout this study, greater attention should be paid to the use and influence of Chronicles in Luke-Acts, especially in conjunction with Samuel-Kings.
4. Regarding the structure of Luke-Acts, since I understand the SKNA to be just one of several sources of scriptural inspiration for Luke (alongside of Isaiah and the EEN, among others), the conclusion regarding the SKNA is further evidence that Luke employed multiple structural patterns in the composition of Luke-Acts.
5. The subtlety of the evidence for Luke's use of the SKNA raises the question of intentionality. While I believe it is highly likely, on the cumulative weight of the evidence, that Luke was consciously aware of his imitation of the SKNA, I am open to the possibility that this imitation was unconscious. Or, perhaps better, subconscious. As some have observed, intentionality is a concept that is perhaps better thought of in terms of a spectrum, rather than a binary opposition.⁴
6. A related question is that of the audience's reception and recognition of the parallels with the SKNA. Although this must, of course, remain an open question, we might expect that at least some members of Luke's audience, including gentiles, would have recognized the parallels, even if not all would have.⁵

Some additional implications will be addressed in the conclusion.

5 Theological Implications

1. *Biblical anthropology.* Luke's royal characterization of the disciples of Jesus highlights a feature of the scriptural portrayal of human beings that has long been noted but not always emphasized: we are created to be

4 Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence*, 44–46. See also Keener, *Acts*, 1:566. An additional possibility is that the imitation of the SKNA was not intended on the part of the human author (Luke), but was intended on the part of the Divine author of Scripture.

5 On the broad range of biblical literacy likely encountered in the first century churches, including among gentiles, see Beale, *Handbook*, 9–10; Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 66–68. The comments of Beale and Stanley concerning Paul can likely be applied to Luke as well.

vice-regents with God.⁶ This high estate was lost at the fall and is regained in and through Christ. The typological comparison between the kings of the SKNA and followers of Christ indicates that now is the age of kingdom *activity, authority, fidelity, and humility*.

2. *Kingdom and mission.* This study opens up some intriguing new vistas in terms of a theology of the kingdom of God and Christian mission, in light of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom as expressed throughout Luke and Acts. While overly physical conceptions of the kingdom of God have brought with them tragic consequences throughout the history of the Church, nevertheless Luke's fulfillment of the SKNA in Luke-Acts may indicate the need for a proper element of spatiality in our conception of the kingdom, based on a more nuanced and creative understanding of geography.⁷ That is, as God's servants humbly go out, proclaiming the message of reconciliation and bearing the presence of the risen King, the worldwide kingdom of God hinted at in the SKNA—indeed, as far back as Genesis 1—becomes established among all the peoples of the earth, until the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD as the waters cover the sea (Hab 2:14). This study provides a fresh way of conceptualizing this.

6 For Further Study

1. Although I have attempted to make a beginning of this in chapter 2, much more work needs to be done on the reading and reception of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, considered together, in the Second Temple Jewish literature.
2. Likewise, I believe that further study is needed on the concept of vice-regency as it is expressed in the OT, in Second Temple Judaism, and in the NT.
3. In light of the proposed parallel between the disciples and the kings of the SKNA, it would now be beneficial to compare more closely the narratives of the kings and the narratives of the disciples in Acts, with respect to features such as the amount of space devoted to each character, the amount of text devoted to direct speech, issues of characterization, and

6 See, e.g., Gen 1:26–28; Ps 8:4–8; 1 Cor 6:2–3; Rev 2:26–28; 20:6. See also McCartney, “*Ecce Homo*.”

7 See, e.g., Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative*, 260–63.

other possible common elements.⁸ Doing so would help to confirm (or disconfirm) the present thesis.

4. In light of the obvious importance of Isaiah in Luke-Acts, and the newly proposed importance of the SKNA, it might be fruitful to examine further the relationship between Samuel-Kings and Isaiah, especially as regards the role of David in both.
5. The history of interpretation of Luke and Acts should be examined afresh in light of this thesis for potential corroboration.

7 Conclusion: Luke the Chronicler and the Purpose of Acts

Throughout this study, we have seen that Luke shows himself to fall squarely in line with the tradition of OT historiography found in the SKNA, especially in his absorption of the narrative arc first encountered in Samuel-Kings and transformed in Chronicles. If this is so, we should then conclude, as several scholars have suggested over the years, that Luke writes in a mode analogous to the Chronicler.⁹ In his “renaissance of Old Testament historiography,”¹⁰ Luke takes existing models (including the SKNA and the Gospel of Mark), reworks them, adds to them, and recasts the whole in his own unique style and with his own particular *Tendenz*, thus producing something at once old and new. This conclusion regarding “Luke the Chronicler” generates several implications.

First, if Luke absorbs, transforms, and imitates the two-part narrative structure of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts, this indicates, at the very least, that he views himself as writing history in the biblical style: he is imitating OT historiography. Second, it is likely that Luke does not merely imitate the *manner* of the biblical narratives, but rather he sees his work as the *continuation* of the biblical story. We can put a finer point, then, on the often-noted

8 On some these issues in Acts, see Adams, *Collected Biography*, 150, 163. For one brief example of this in the current study, see 169n30.

9 Some scholars who have at least suggested this include Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel*, 44; Brodie, “A New Temple and a New Law,” 21–45; Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 49–53, 128–31, 377; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 82; Bruner, “Harmony and Historiography,” 85–90; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:162. See also Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 174; and Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 301. Parsons and Pervo mention that Charles Cutler Torrey also made a comparison to the Chronicler in his *The Composition and Date of Acts*, but I have been unable to locate this. Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, 33.

10 Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel*, 5.

observation that Luke is writing *biblical history* in this sense.¹¹ Third, this study also brings greater clarity to the Lukan theme of *fulfillment*. That is, in imitating not just the OT in general, but the SKNA in particular, Luke indicates that “the things fulfilled among us” (Luke 1:1) concerning Jesus and the disciples take on a particular *shape*: they are the end-time fulfillment of the earlier biblical narrative concerning David and the kings.¹² Fourth, if Luke imitates OT historiography in these profound ways, this may indicate that he views himself as writing in a mode analogous to his OT exemplar. That is, Luke may view himself as writing sacred Scripture.¹³ Fifth, and finally, Luke’s subtle and sophisticated use of the OT has a bearing on the question of whether Luke was gentile or Jewish. While it would not be impossible for a gentile convert to Christianity, especially one so clearly gifted as Luke, to understand and engage with the OT as profoundly as he does, nevertheless I believe this thesis renders it far more likely that Luke was Jewish—that is, he was someone steeped in the traditions, stories, figures, and patterns of Israel’s history from his youngest days.¹⁴

Ultimately, this study suggests a fresh answer to one of the most vexing questions of all in Lukan studies: Why did Luke write *two* books—which is to say, Why did he write Acts? If this thesis is correct, the answer would be that Luke, in writing the end-time account of God’s dealings with his people, saw it as a fundamentally two-part story, because the model to which Luke-Acts corresponds was also a two-part story. For us, who stand in the heritage of Luke-Acts, Luke invites us to consider this story of God’s king and his kingdom, boldly proclaimed by his victorious vice-regents, and to go, empowered by the Spirit, and do likewise.

11 Dahl, “The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts,” 152–53; Dahl, *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church*, 88; Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 347–49; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 363; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 81–82; Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us*, 26; Fitzmyer, “The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts,” 296–97; Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 42; Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 251, 253; Keener, *Acts*, 1:485–87; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 191.

12 This is not to suggest that Luke-Acts fulfills the SKNA and nothing else.

13 At least suggested, among others, by Gasque, *History of Interpretation*, 347–49; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 363; Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” 81–82; and Keener, *Acts*, 1:485–87. See the cautions on this point in *ibid.*, 1:486.

14 For a similar conclusion for similar reasons, see Alexander, “Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio,” 17–19, 25–26. Isaac Oliver has recently argued, on different grounds, that “Luke is Jewish until proven gentile.” Oliver, *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology*, 25.

Bayes' Theorem

In its simplest form, Bayes' Theorem is as follows:

$$P(H|E) = \frac{P(E|H) \cdot P(H)}{P(E)}$$

P means the *Probability*, H means the *Hypothesis*, and E means the *Evidence*. The vertical bar | means “based on.”

The value $P(H|E)$ is the *posterior probability*. This is the value we are trying to determine; the overall probability of the hypothesis based on the evidence. The value $P(E|H)$ is the *conditional probability* or the *likelihood*. It represents the ability of the hypothesis to explain the evidence. The value $P(H)$ is the *prior probability*. It represents the probability of the hypothesis prior to looking at the evidence. The value $P(E)$ is the probability that the evidence would occur whether or not the hypothesis were true. Thus, this formula says that the posterior probability is equal to the product of the conditional probability and the prior probability, divided by the probability of the evidence. The following example illustrates how the theory is used.

Suppose that there is a medical test for a disease which produces true positives 95% of the time, and true negatives 90% of the time. Let us further suppose that the prior probability of the disease occurring is 1%. We now have all that we need to determine the probability that a person has the disease based on a positive test result.

The value of $P(E|H)$ is 95%. That is, the likelihood of a positive test result (E) if the disease is present (H) is 95%. The value of $P(H)$ is 1% (the prior probability). The value of $P(E)$ takes an additional computation to determine. This value asks, in effect, “What is the chance that we would see a positive result, whether or not the disease is present?” Table A.1 reflects how this is computed.

From this table, we can see that if the disease is present, the probability of a positive result is 0.95%, while if it is not, the probability of a positive result is 9.9%. In other words, any positive result is more likely to be a false positive than a true positive. In order to get the probability of a positive result, regardless of whether or not the disease is present, we simply add these two values together to get .1085, or 10.85%.

TABLE A.1 Bayes' Theorem example: determining the probability of the evidence occurring

Disease exists?	Likelihood of positive result	Prior probability	Probability of positive result ^a
Yes	.95	.01	.0095 (0.95%)
No	.1	.99	.099 (9.9%)

a Product of likelihood and prior probability.

Plugging this value for P(E) back into the equation, we can now solve it:

$$P(H|E) = \frac{.95 \times .01}{.1085}$$

The result is .0876, or 8.76%. This is the posterior probability of the disease being present based on a positive test result. Despite the high accuracy of the medical test, the low probability of a person having the disease in the first place renders the overall probability of the person having the disease, even given a positive test result, remarkably low.

Although we can never, in biblical studies, work with precise statistical values, for the purposes of illustration let us imagine that we can, and evaluate the theory of Luke's use of the SKNA as a literary template using Bayes' Theorem.

Suppose that P(E|H)—the likelihood of the hypothesis—is high but not extremely high; say, 60%. That is, the evidence I presented, taken as a cumulative case, has adequate, though not overwhelming explanatory power. Let us further suppose that if the theory were *not* true, the chance that we would see the exact same data I presented is lower than if it were true, but not by a large amount. Let us assign a value of 40%. Let us next assume that the prior probability—P(H)—is high (75%). We can now determine the probability that Luke used the SKNA as a literary template based on the evidence presented. (Once again, a calculation is needed to determine P(E), which is 55%). The calculation becomes:

$$P(H|E) = \frac{.6 \times .75}{.55}$$

This leads to a posterior possibility of 81%. That is, based on the given inputs, the overall probability that Luke used the SKNA as a literary template in Luke-Acts is 81%.

Let me be clear that I am in no way suggesting that we can precisely quantify this or any other theory in biblical studies. Rather, the numbers are simply to illustrate the importance of prior probabilities. One of the major implications of Bayes' Theorem is that prior probabilities have a disproportional effect on the overall probability judgment of a state of affairs. The numbers I provided above illustrate this. Even though we assigned only a moderate probability for the likelihood (60%; meaning that the exegetical evidence I presented for Luke-Acts is somewhat equivocal), the prior probability of 75% caused the final, posterior probability to jump up to 81%. Suppose, however, that the prior probability is judged to be far lower, say 25%. Bayes' Theorem illustrates the effect this has on the overall probability judgment:

$$P(H|E) = \frac{.6 \times .25}{.55}$$

We see that this leads to a posterior probability of 27%—a far lower probability, despite the same explanatory power of the evidence. This example illustrates the outsize effect that prior probabilities have on an overall probability judgment according to Bayes' Theorem.

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